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PRIMITIVE RITUAL AND BELIEF

PRIMITIVE RITUAL AND BELIEF

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ESSAY

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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TO
MY WIFE

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE study of anthropology in general, and of comparative religion in particular, is one which appeals nowadays to a very large section of the educated public. In the light of modern knowledge many old preconceived notions regarding the early history of mankind have to be abandoned, and some of the ancient beliefs have to be re-stated in a manner in which the modern mind can accept them. The spirit of inquiry is abroad, and nowhere more than in the field of religion. Furthermore, it is to the question of origins that the minds of many turn at this time, and, therefore anthropology, which may be described as the "science of human origins," occupies no inconspicuous place in the modern renaissance. How did religion originate? Is it the result of Divine revelation, or is it the product of evolution? Has God really revealed Himself "by divers portions and in divers manners" in times past, and in these latter days spoken to us by His Son? Are the pre-Christian religions an age-long prayer, to which the Incarnation is the answer, or is Christianity merely the highest because the latest development in a long line of human thought and aspiration? All these questions are legitimate and right, both from the scientific and from the Christian point of view. Inquiry in the sense of specialized research that aims at truth for truth's sake is the method by which the scientist establishes his hypotheses, and the Christian is likewise ex-

horted to "prove all things." Was it not for the very purpose of leading the faithful inquirer into all truth that the Paraclete was sent into the world?

In the following pages the subject to be investigated is that of primitive ritual and belief as practised by the aborigines of Australia—the lowest culture extant—and by other primitive people. Although the main thesis is purely anthropological in character, yet it is hoped that the work may be of interest to the theologian as well as to the anthropologist, since an attempt will be made to discover the permanent element in and the real significance of rudimentary customs.

It is almost impossible for any writer to preserve an absolutely open mind on questions that go to the very root of the higher religions, because, as an anthropologist of no little repute—and one to whom the author owes a debt of gratitude that cannot easily be paid—has pointed out, "being men we all find it hard, nay impossible, to study man impartially. When we say that we are going to play the historian, or the anthropologist, and to put aside for the time being all considerations of the moral of the story we seek to unfold, we are merely undertaking to be as fair as we can. Willy-nilly, however, we are sure to colour our history, to the extent, at any rate, of taking a hopeful or gloomy view of man's past achievements and his future prospects."[1] Likewise, the antagonist of historical religion is sure to find in primitive ritual and belief the starting point of a long process of evolution in which Christianity is but an evolved form of earlier conceptions, containing vestiges of the cults from which it is derived. The apologist, on the other hand, is equally certain to regard the lowest phase of religion as the germ of a great movement towards the final revelation of the absolute Truth that,

[1] R. R. Marett, "Anthropology," p. 205.

he believes, came by Jesus Christ. The present writer, as a priest of the Catholic Church, cannot claim to be free from "theological and confessional prejudice," but, if he has been guided by *à priori* considerations, he ventures to think that he is only guilty of the same error as that committed by many of his opponents.

The anthropologist pure and simple is merely concerned with the scientific history of man apart from questions of values, progress, the attainment of ends, or the purposive interpretation of the facts with which he has to deal. Nevertheless, if he is an anthropologist he is also a human being, and cannot afford to take a wholly external and impartial view of life, lest he forget that primitive men had souls and spiritual worth. It is therefore perhaps not unpardonable for an anthropologist to be a theologian or a philosopher as well, provided that he records his *facts* faithfully and correctly, free from colouring to suit his interpretation of them. All history, and more especially the history of early man, must deal primarily with externals, the true and permanent inwardness of which can best be discovered by adhering to the Aristotelian principle that a process of development is only understood in view of its outcome.

Many works have been consulted in the preparation of the MS., but perhaps the chief incentive has been found in the new light thrown upon primitive ritual and belief by the researches of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen among the native tribes of Central Australia, supplemented by other investigators of the culture of this remarkable people. The author desires to express his obligation to Dr. Farnell, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, for the valuable suggestions he made in connexion with the chapter on Sacrifice, to Dr. Jevons of Durham and Dr. Buchanan Gray of Oxford, who made various criticisms and suggestions after examining the subject-matter of the work in the form of a dissertation,

to Dr. Selbie of Mansfield College, who revised parts of the MS., and especially to Dr. R. R. Marett. Reader in Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford, his former tutor, to whose comprehensive knowledge of primitive cult he owes so many invaluable clues. The dedication expresses yet another debt of gratitude that the writer owes to one whose assistance in connexion with the MS. and in other ways has been of the utmost value.

E. O. J.

Exeter College, Oxford
September, 1917

INTRODUCTION

By R. R. Marett, M.A., D.Sc.,

Reader in Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford, Author of "The Threshold of Religion," etc.

MY friend and former pupil, the author of this book, was already in Holy Orders when he engaged at Oxford on a course of advanced study such as would lead to the Diploma, together with a Research Degree, in Anthropology. His motive in so doing, I conceive, was purely theological. In other words, he sought to enlarge his outlook as a student and minister of Religion by working back to its rudiments. Our School of Anthropology has been fortunate in attracting not a few whose interests have tended in the same direction. Most of these, however, owing to the pressure of other intellectual needs, have not been in a position to enter very deeply into the subject. Mr. James, on the other hand, elected to undergo a full anthropological training; and, speaking as one of his teachers, I can but hope that in his capacity of theologian he suffered no detriment at our hands.

Is the history of Christianity for theological purposes to be cut off as with a knife from the history of non-Christian ritual and belief? If not—and, surely, no one can to-day be in favour of a cleavage so radical as that—then even the humblest human efforts in the way of religious practice and theory will have to be treated as

relevant after their own fashion. But religion is defined variously; and opinions differ accordingly as regards the extent to which genuine religion occurs amongst mankind. Even anthropologists, who as seekers after origins may be expected to incline towards the most inclusive of definitions, are by no means agreed that Man, so far as he comes within the range of scientific observation, is to be set down as everywhere and always religious. Yet everywhere and always Man is found to perform what he holds to be sacred rites. Cult, then, if this peculiar type of human activity may be so termed, would seem to be universal. It remains an open question, however, whether such cult is to be regarded as no less universally equivalent to Religion.

At this point anthropologist and theologian may well be called upon to take counsel together with a view to common action. Could they but decide to assign one and the same meaning to the term Religion, much benefit would result. The lay mind would no longer be puzzled by verbal contradictions concerning first principles. Moreover, the ancient and unprofitable controversy between Religion and Science would be mitigated by the removal of a primary cause of misunderstanding. The difficulty is hardly met by the heroic suggestion that the anthropologist should henceforth desist altogether from the use of the word Religion. It is true that he is more directly concerned with facts than with values; and that such a term as cult, having wholly academic associations, may be assigned the task of designating pure matter of fact, whereas Religion both in theological and in popular language implies a valuation, an attribution of worth. But Anthropology cannot afford to be strictly technical in its vocabulary. The simple life needs to be described simply; and Religion stands for a familiar notion, while cult does not. Hence a working definition of Religion is needful for

the anthropologist no less than for the theologian : and for both alike the word must correspond with a thing that has value—in other words, is somehow good and real.

Thus Mr. James attacks a problem of fundamental interest and importance when, starting from the Christian standpoint, he attempts to estimate the religious quality and value of primitive cult. He concentrates his attention on a people who, in respect of their material culture, belong to the Stone Age. Thus the epithet primitive applies to them if to any existing group of savages. On the other hand, nowhere among the peoples of lowly culture is there more devotion to cult. It is a commonplace that the entire life of the Australian aborigines hinges on their ceremonies. Indeed, so remarkable is the contrast between the multitude of their rites and the paucity of their material comforts that at first sight one might be tempted to deem such absorption in cult abnormal, a sign of uneven development. But further reflexion makes it clear that at every stage of human progress, and not least of all while the first steps are being taken, morale counts for more than machinery. Let the heart of Man be strong, and the rest, in the shape of material aids to existence, will be added unto him in due course.

Mr. James, then, as I understand him, tries to show that the net result of these primitive rites, and of the beliefs that are bound up with them, is to enable these most ill-provided and benighted of human pilgrims to advance with hope and confidence on life's journey. Their value, in short, consists in a power to help and heal by means of faith. But, if this be so, how are we to deny to such cult the name of Religion ? Be the cry of the savage heart never so inarticulate, expressing itself for the most part in a kind of gesture-language, yet the underlying meaning is one which science, conformably with the requirements of a sympathetic study of humanity as a

whole, must insist on connecting with the far more explicit meaning that his own faith and practice have for the Christian.

This must suffice as a very brief statement of the way in which, as it seems to me, Mr. James' book is likely to prove helpful to the anthropologist and to the student of Comparative Religion; inasmuch as it shows the need of a definition of Religion that makes it co-extensive with cult, while also throwing light on the elements that a definition of such world-wide scope has to include. It would not be right to seek here for a discussion of various other problems interesting to the anthropologist, as, for instance, of the question whether Australian culture is simple or compound; for such issues are more or less foreign to the leading purpose of the inquiry. For the rest, I take it that Mr. James wishes to make appeal to the plain man no less than to the special student. Every serious person is entitled to judge for himself how far Religion, as it manifests itself variously during the long course of human history, is justified by its fruits. I hope, then, that the book may have many readers, and believe that one and all they will come away from the reading of it with a fuller appreciation of those higher possibilities which our common human nature enshrines.

R. R. MARETT

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PRIMITIVE RITUAL AND BELIEF

CHAPTER I

A GENERAL SURVEY OF RITUAL AND BELIEF IN PRIMITIVE CULT

An analysis of the methods of Anthropological investigation—The pitfalls of the universalistic form of the Comparative Method—The relation of Magic to Religion—The use of the term *Magico-religious*—The reason for choosing the cults of the Australian aborigines for intensive study—The place occupied by ritual in the life of primitive people—The division of primitive ritual into Public and Private Rites—The absence of a Theology in savage philosophy.

IN his epoch-making work "The Golden Bough"—a veritable encyclopædia of anthropological lore—Sir James Frazer depicts primitive man, both past and present, as being devoted to cruel, hideous, and licentious rites: the deluded victim of demoniacal and other malignant unseen powers. He is portrayed as constantly arming himself with magical weapons against demons, ghosts, and spiritual agencies, which are liable to attack him at any moment of the day or night, but especially when he approaches one of the crises of his life, such as initiation, marriage, death, the birth and naming of a child; when he sets out to engage in deadly combat with his human foes; when he goes forth to sow his crops or to gather in "the kindly fruits of the earth." Against these evils, real and imaginary, he defends himself by magical rites, which are not only futile but often actually unclean and, in various ways,

prejudicial to his true welfare. Even such apparently guileless institutions as All Fool's Day and the rites of Hierapolis or Elis are connected, in the mind of Frazer, with the ritual murder of the aging king, and with human sacrifice.

There may be an element of truth behind this gloomy view of primitive society, but it should be remembered that Sir James arrives at his conclusions by the universalistic form of the comparative method. This same scheme of collecting examples, of savage beliefs and rites from all parts of the world, and deducing "laws" of primitive logic from them, had already been used by Sir Edward Tylor with considerable success. But the procedure lacks the precision of intensive study, and is liable to classify together superficially similar but really incommensurable facts, with the result that false conclusions are bound to follow.

Much of this generalizing work aims at establishing a distinction between magic and religion, and, in the case of Frazer, at making good the assumption of an age of pure magic preceding an age of religion. To justify this theory he was almost bound to surround primitive man with all kinds of malignant spirits to account for the rise of protective magical rites in a godless era. Thus he has been led into the fundamental error of assuming strata in the history of the evolution of magic and religion as clearly defined as those exhibited by the geological record of the earth.

(1) In discussing ritual and belief in primitive cult the pitfalls resulting from a lack of intensive study will be guarded against in this essay by paying special attention to the magico-religious cults of the Australian aborigines in particular. Resort will be had to the universal comparative method only so far as there is need to supply examples not to be found in this particular region, and to support the general argument.

Thus, an attempt will be made to avoid both extremes; namely, too narrow and too sweeping a method of induction.

(2) In the next place the use of the expression "magico-religious" calls for a word of explanation. A detailed investigation of primitive cult shows at once how untenable is Frazer's theory of an age of magic being succeeded by an age of religion, in much the same way as a stratum of one geological epoch is overlaid by that of the following period. To obviate such difficulties as would necessarily arise from the adoption of such a stratigraphical hypothesis as a working principle, the term magico-religious is usually employed by modern anthropologists. In "Notes and Queries on Anthropology," 1912 (p. 251)—the recognized *locus classicus* on terminology—it is stated that "the distinction between magic and religion, about which the framers of general theory are in dispute, may be ignored for purposes of particular description," the phrase magico-religious sufficing to cover all the facts relating to magical, religious, and ambiguous or intermediate rites and beliefs.

(3) Thirdly, the reason for choosing the cults of the Australian aborigines for intensive study is because these interesting people are apparently the lowest in culture, and nearest to the primitive type. Hence they constitute the most profitable field of research for those who are seeking to discover the most elementary forms of culture, ritual and belief. In his native state the Australian is unacquainted with the use of metals, pottery, and agriculture—in short, of any of the arts and industries that are most characteristic of the higher culture. His social organization is equally primitive, consisting of tribes that are divided into phratries, totem-kins, and similar divisions—roaming bands that are without more formal rulers than "headmen." Curi-

ously enough, the religious conceptions of the Australians are relatively so lofty that many have sought to explain them as the result of contact with European missionaries. But this can hardly be the case, since their most advanced religious ideas are intimately associated with their ancient and secret ceremonies. The magico-religious cults of the Australian aborigines, therefore, form a particularly instructive example of primitive ritual and belief from which to draw general conclusions, such as may be substantiated and verified by reference to evidence forthcoming from a wider field of observation. Had Professor Huxley studied these people more carefully he would not have been led to say: "In its simplest condition, such as may be met among the Australian savages, theology is a mere belief in the existence, powers and dispositions (usually malignant) of ghost-like entities who may be propitiated or scared away; but no cult can properly be said to exist. And in this stage theology is properly dependent on Ethics." [1]

This statement is as contrary to known facts as Frazer's dreary picture of primitive man. Mr. Andrew Lang is nearer the truth when he maintains that "the cult among the Australians is the keeping of certain 'laws' expressed in moral teaching, supposed to be in conformity with the institutes of their god. Worship takes the form, as at Eleusis, of tribal mysteries, originally instituted, as at Eleusis, by the god. The young men are initiated with many ceremonies, some of which are cruel and farcical, but the initiation includes ethical instruction, in conformity with the supposed commands of a god who watches over conduct. As among ourselves, the ethical ideal, with its theological sanction, is probably rather above the moral standard of ordinary practice." [2] Such facts, however they be interpreted,

[1] "Science and Hebrew Tradition," p. 346.
[2] "The Making of Religion," p. 177.

are, on the face of them, enough to contradict the statement of Professor Huxley.

No doubt Frazer is correct in saying that primitive man is prone to the performance of various rites in respect to all the more important crises of his life, and that of his family, class, phratry and totem-kin. With uncivilized man the magico-religious side of his nature is always uppermost. When he is hunting, fighting, marrying a wife or giving in marriage, becoming the father of a child, going on a journey, sowing his crops, reaping his harvest, burying his dead, in fact in all his public and private affairs, he is intensely "religious." He is always seeking to control the processes of nature by magical or religious means. Since the distinction between magic and religion merely lies in the notion of the controlling force, it will be readily seen how impossible it is to separate stratigraphically these two attitudes of mind in primitive man.

There is another psychological fact that should be remembered in opening an inquiry into the nature and substance of primitive ritual. The so-called "savage" has a very different mental outlook from that of man in a higher stage of culture. Much valuable anthropological work has been spoiled by the observer failing to get "at the back of the black man's mind." In the first place savages *live out* rather than think out their cult. To them "religion" is not a matter of theory but of practice. The primitive mind is incapable of grasping abstract thought to any appreciable extent, just as it is unable to assimilate complex ideas. It cannot separate or analyse out particular elements from the whole. Therefore, ritual is more complex than belief, and, although to the cultured mind many underlying conceptions would be suggested by a long and complicated rite, to the savage it appears as the "outward and visible sign" of but one inward meaning.

To him the rite as a whole is felt to be in some mystic way effective in bringing about the desired result. And since he views all the agents, elements, and accessories of the rite as devoid of separate individuality—common actors in a sacred drama—fused and interchanging in a manner unintelligible to civilized thought—to him the rite becomes but one massive apprehension. The chief value, therefore, belongs to the rite itself. All the actors and stage properties concerned in the drama are subordinate to the meaning and purpose of the rite as a whole.

From the sociological point of view, perhaps the most important distinction in primitive ritual is that between *private* and *public rites*. The former are of an individual and sacramental nature, whereas the latter refer to the well-being of the community at large. For the present purpose this classification may be adopted, with the addition of a chapter on the rites associated with what may be termed the "consecrated life"—the ritual of the professional priest or magician. To complete the investigation a subsequent inquiry must be made into the *beliefs* at the back of these practices, and the relation of rites to mythology.

It must again be remembered, however, that in primitive cult there is no such thing as a theology or thought-out scheme of beliefs; although there may be, and apparently is, a permanent underlying psychological impulse, traceable from primitive magico-religious cult through the higher Theistic systems to the final cause of all religious rituals and beliefs—the Incarnation of the Divine Logos: constituting the Alpha and Omega of all strivings of the human soul towards the Divine. In a concluding chapter the nature of this permanent element in all religions will be briefly indicated, so as thereby to connect primitive cult with Christian theology.

CHAPTER II

PRIVATE RITES : BIRTH

The mystery and sacredness of childbirth—The *Couvade*—The theory of re-incarnation in Central Australia—The Churinga rites connected with childbirth—Purification and regeneration ceremonies—Rites associated with the placenta and umbilical cord—Naming the child—The sacredness of the name—The reception into the community of parent and child—"The Churching of Women."

ALTHOUGH the actual act of childbirth does not cause women in a primitive state of culture severe pain, the advent of a new human being into the world is considered a matter of great importance; and, in consequence, numerous rites and customs surround the occasion. Thus, the mystery of life and birth becomes supernatural to primitive man and tabus grow up accordingly. No doubt many ceremonies originally were simply the result of natural care for mother and child, but it was the mysterious nature of the processes of reproduction that caused them to be viewed with such great reverence and awe, as objects of unusual sacredness. From the attainment of puberty women are hedged round with innumerable tabus at every menstruation, pregnancy and parturition. So sacred and therefore so dangerous is she at these times that it is sometimes necessary for her husband to separate from her during pregnancy, lest he should come under her mystic influence.

But it must not be supposed that all the tabus im-

posed on the parents at the birth of a child refer to themselves. Many of them concern the offspring itself, as, for example, the *couvade*—the name given by Tylor to the custom of the husband undergoing medical treatment, and in many cases being put to bed for days. The close relationship between man and wife constitutes a mystic sympathy between them, an idea not far removed from the Christian ideal: "They twain shall be one flesh." This mystic sympathy extends to the child. In matrilineal society couvade is not usually found. According to Tylor and Bachofen, the custom is the result of the assertion of the father's relation to the child. Hence they argue that when patrilineal descent was fully established the couvade became unnecessary, and was therefore dropped. Be this as it may, it is apparently among people in the transitional state —the maternal-paternal stage as Tylor terms it— that the most abundant examples are to be found.

In South America and the West Indies couvade is practised with a clear notion of what it means. The women are free to talk with whom they will, but the husband dare not converse with his wife's relatives.[1] The Indians of California; the Zuccheli of West Africa; the Bouro in the eastern Archipelago; the Mian-tsze, mountain tribes on the Chinese frontier; and the Dravidians of Southern India, are a few cases instanced by Dr Tylor. None of these, however, are in the purely maternal stage. But Mr. Ling Roth has shown that couvade is practised by the Arawaks and Melanesians, among whom matrilineal descent is established.

The alternative explanation suggested by Tylor, that the magical-sympathetic nature of a large class of couvade rites implies a physical bond between parent and child, covers more facts than the former suggestion, but it can hardly be said to account for all instances

[1] Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," p. 293.

known to anthropologists. There is, however, reason to believe with Mr. A. E. Crawley that the couvade is also a means by which the father desires to protect his wife as well as his child.[1]

In central Australia every child is regarded as the reincarnation of an ancestor, the spirit-being definitely associated with a special totemic group. Sometimes, as in the Arunta, Kaitish and Unmatjera tribes, these totemic ancestors were many; sometimes only few, as in the Urabunna. In every case, however, the spirit is supposed deliberately to enter the body of the mother. In the Kaitish tribe a man will take a Churinga and carry it to a spot at which there is a special stone called *kwerka-punga* (child stone), which he rubs with the Churinga, asking the *kurinah*, or spirit of the child, to go straight into the woman. Among the Arunta there exists the same belief in stones inhabited by children who can be made to enter a woman, but in this tribe the Churinga is not used as a part of the rite.[2] Mr. Baldwin Spencer thinks that the belief in spirit children who enter women was once universal, as it exists in tribes now so widely different. The Kakadu believe that there was once one great ancestor, Imberombera, who was responsible for peopling the country. There were also local spirit centres as in the Arunta.[3]

Childbirth among savages is not a long or painful process. When a child is about to be born in the Kaitish tribe, the parents of the woman leave the camp for two days and the husband for three days, the latter taking care to remove his waist-girdle and arm-bands lest he should impede the birth. On his return the

[1] "Mystic Rose," p. 428.

[2] Spencer and Gillen, "Northern Tribes of Central Australia," p. 606.

[3] Spencer and Gillen, "Native Tribes of Northern Australia," p. 23.

father touches the new-born child with a small brush, warms a spear-thrower over the fire, and passes it backwards and forwards over the child's body, after which he paints a circle of black round the eyes and the navel. This done he hands the child back to the woman, telling her to go and show it again to her father and mother. If there is any difficulty at parturition, her elder sister brings the *nania* (maternal grandmother) who encamps close by and sings until the child is born. In the Arunta, the father's girdle is wound round the mother's waist in cases of difficulty.

Among the Warramunga tribes the rites are more detailed. The woman is attended by male and female relatives, who are under a ban of silence till some time after the birth. When the child is about a week old, the mother, accompanied by her father's mother, carries it to the father's camp. The man thereupon gives the male attendants presents of weapons, and the mother releases them from the ban of silence.

Infanticide is practised in cases where another child is being suckled at the time, or in order that a weaker child may imbibe its strength. Twins are destroyed as uncanny. In such cases the soul of the infant is believed to return to the Alcheringa to be soon reincarnated.[1]

Childbirth takes place in seclusion because of the condition of tabu imposed on the parturient. Thus, the Rev. W. Ridley, in his "Report on Australian Languages and Traditions," says: "Women are strictly secluded at the time of childbirth and for six weeks afterwards. An old gin is appointed to attend the mother in her confinement. At the end of the time of seclusion, this old gin burns every vessel that has been used by the secluded woman; and in some parts of the country also burns off part of her hair. During the monthly

[1] "Northern Tribes," p. 608.

illness the woman is not allowed to touch anything that men use or even to walk on a path that man frequents, on pain of death." [1] Among the tribes of New South Wales it is said that the spot to which the woman withdraws is fixed by the chiefs.[2] In some places, as, for instance, in New Zealand and Japan, a special hut is provided for women under tabu, whither the parturient retires to be delivered.[3] A survival of this practice still prevails among the peasants of Russia, who to this day give birth in a barn.[4] Where the woman remains in her husband's shelter, as in the west of Victoria, the man is forced to leave, and the neighbouring shelters are promptly deserted, except for two married women who stay to act as midwives.[5]

The absence of the husband at birth is by no means a universal custom. The Yaroinga of Queensland allow the man to be present,[6] while in the Andaman Islands he is expected to render active assistance. In the latter connexion Mr. E. H. Man says: "When about to be confined, the custom is for the husband, and some of the woman's female friends, to attend on her; she is placed in a sitting posture, the left leg is stretched out, and the right knee brought up, so as to enable her to clasp it with her arms. Her husband supports her back and presses her as desired, while her female friends hold a leaf screen, *ka-baja-tuga*, over the lower part of her person, and assist her to the best of their ability in the delivery, and in the removal of the after-birth the umbilical cord is severed by means of a Cyrena shell (now a steel blade is often used), and when the

[1] "J. A. I.," ii., p. 268.
[2] Matthews, "Ethnological Notes," p. 15.
[3] Ashton, "Shinto," p. 113.
[4] "L'Anthropologie," xiv., pp. 7, 8.
[5] Dawson, "Australian Aborigines," p. 38.
[6] Roth, "Ethnological Studies," p. 182.

infant has been washed in cold water its skin is gently scraped with a shell." [1] Likewise in the birth rites of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico—the Sia tribe—the husband is present but apparently does not take any part in the proceedings. The woman, in this case, is surrounded by a doctress, the husband, and her father. In the description of the rites given by Mrs. Stevenson in the "American Bureau of Ethnology," the husband is portrayed as sitting on a blanket against the wall throughout the proceedings.[2] It is possible that the absence of the husband is a survival from matrilineal society, where the father would be of little or no importance. The presence of the wife's mother at delivery lends support to this view. As tabus grew up round the pregnant woman the separation of husband and wife at parturition became a necessity.

The child, like the parents, is unclean, and therefore some form of regeneration is necessary to remove this original taint. The mother and child among the Koragars of West India are ceremonially unclean for five days, when both are restored to purity by a tepid bath. Thus Walhouse states that "on the occasion of a birth (among the Koragars) the mother becomes unclean and the hut is deserted by the other inmates for five days; on the sixth day the mother and child are restored to purity by a tepid bath, and the child is named. Rice and vegetables are presented to the mother, and several cocoa-nuts, split in two, the under half being given to the mother, and the upper to the master, if the child be male, contrariwise if female." [3]

Lustrations of the woman and her offspring are practised among the American Indians, Hottentots, and Negroes. There is a certain suggestion of likeness between the rites in this connexion among the North

[1] "J. A. I.," xii., 86. [2] Vol. xi., p. 132.
[3] "J. A. I.," iv., p. 375.

American Indians and those of the Levitical Law, but obviously the two "uses" are quite distinct. The Hottentots considered mother and child unclean till they had been washed and smeared after the native fashion. Lustrations with water were usual in West Africa. The Mantras of the Malay Peninsula have made the bathing of the mother after childbirth into a ceremonial ordinance. It is so among the indigenes of India, where both in the northern and in the southern districts the naming of the child comes into connexion with the purification of the mother, both ceremonies being performed on the same day.[1] Among many South African tribes (Giacas, Gealekas, Tembus, Pondos, etc.) the mother is secluded for a month after childbirth, during which time women sprinkle her daily with a decoction of herbs and repeat hymns. Water and fire are used among the Jakun tribe in the Malay Peninsula, the child being passed over fire.[2] In Java the head of a child is shaved forty days after birth. These examples show that the child's first washing was originally a religious rite.

Dr. Farnell, in the "Evolution of Religion" (p. 157), mentions an interesting form of lustration among the Aztecs. The midwife washed the infant with the prayer, "May this water purify and whiten thy heart: may it wash away all that is evil." The lustration speedily took definite form in the Mediterranean religions and passed from the idea of washing away of defilement and sin to that of spiritual new birth. In the Isis rites the baptism with water was thought to raise the mortal to the divinity. Thus the way was prepared for the proclamation of the "one baptism for the remission of sins."

The removal of the evil influences to which parent

[1] "Primitive Culture," ii., p. 432.
[2] "Journal of Indian Archæology," ii., p. 264.

and child are exposed is done not only by purificatory rites but by magical ceremonies, sacrifices, and so on. The person is sometimes placed in the fire, or fumigated with smoke or incense; or the tabu may be wiped off with the hands (which must be immediately washed), or with a scraper, at once destroyed. Before and after birth the pregnant woman safeguards herself and her offspring by ceremonies, amulets and fasts. Amulets are hung on the person of mother or child, on the cradle or bed. These consist of parts of animals, plants, stones, girdles, salt, anything, in fact, which may impede the entrance of evil spirits, or assist in the delivery and well-being of mother and child. Should the mother die in childbirth savages usually bury the child with her, lest she should not rest without it.

Great importance is attached to the *placenta* and *umbilical cord*, and numerous rites surround the disposal of these. In Australia the navel cord is usually allowed to fall off, and is then wrapped up in fur-string and tied round the neck of the child to keep it quiet. In the Warramunga tribe it is given to the wife's brother, who wears it as an armlet for some time and then places it in a hollow tree known to none but himself. In the Binbinga tribe the navel string is cut off with a stone knife, and, with the after-birth, placed in a hole in the ground.[1] Among the northern tribes the umbilical cord is dried and worn round the neck for five years, and then thrown into a pool of water. Were it not preserved it is supposed the child would die, since it is thought to contain its spirit. If the child dies while the mother is still wearing the *Worli*, death is attributed to her having broken one of the Kumali rules, such as eating forbidden food or washing in deep water; therefore the spirit is gone from it.[2]

[1] "Northern Tribes," pp. 607, 608.
[2] "Native Tribes of Northern Australia, p. 325.

The Queensland natives hold that part of the *cho-i* (vital principle or soul) of the child remains in the placenta, and is therefore buried in the sand and a number of twigs are stuck in the ground to mark the spot. Anjea—the High God who makes babies out of mud and inserts them in the mother's womb—notes the spot, takes out the *cho-i* and carries it to one of his haunts. There he keeps it till wanted for another child.[1] If a child is born dead it is supposed by the Australians to be due to Numereji (the snake) who has caused the spirit to go back to its old camping ground. The Javanese believe that the souls of their forefathers are housed in crocodiles. The women take the placenta surrounded with fruits, flowers, and lamps to the river, and offer it as a dedicatory gift to the souls of their forefathers in the crocodiles.[2]

Crude and grotesque as these rites appear to the cultured mind, they clearly show that in the most primitive society there is the belief that from birth man is more than a material being—he has a spirit independent of his body.

Ceremonies connected with *naming the child* may occur at birth or puberty, when the lad is initiated into the totem-clan or tribal mystery. Among the Zuñis, naming and initiation take place any time after four years of age. Except for the absence of water, the rite resembles Christian baptism. A sponsor breathes on a wand which he extends towards the child's mouth as he receives his name, and the boy must personally take the vows as soon as he is old enough. With the Africans of the Congo River it was customary to lay upon the new-born babe a series of "vows" touching his conduct in life. These were impressed upon the mother as a sacred duty to bring up her child to learn what a

[1] Roth, "Bulletin of North Queensland," p. 68.
[2] Kruyt, "Animisme in den Ind. Archip.," pp. 25, 189.

" solemn vow, promise, and profession " he had made by her. Mr. E. H. Man shows how among the Andamanese " certain mythic legends are related to the young by *oho-pai-ad* parents and others, which refer to the supposed adventures or history of remote ancestors, and, though the recital not unfrequently evokes much mirth, they are none the less accepted as veracious." [1] This account apparently refers to post-" baptismal " instruction.

Since the name is considered as part of the personality the rites connected therewith are usually religio-social. Among the Arunta, Kaitish, and Unmatjera tribes every individual has two names besides those referring to this totem. The first is the personal name, which is most frequently used; the second is the secret or sacred name, which is associated with his *Churinga-nanja*. If the individual is thought to be a reincarnation of an ancestor he bears his name, or, if this is unknown, a name decided upon by the headmen. This secret name is associated with the Churinga. In addition to these names a man has a " status term "—a name that indicates his stage of initiation. Up to the time he is thrown up into the air he is called *Ambaquerka*. Henceforth, till he is taken to the circumcision ground, he is named *Ulpmerka*. Between going to the ground and the actual circumcision he is called *Wurtja*. From that time to subincision he is *Arakurta*. From circumcision to his admission to the Engwura ceremony the lad is named *Ertwg-kurka*. During the ceremony he is called *Ilpongwurra*, and after passing through it *Urliara*. Women have only three status names. Up to her attaining puberty a girl is *Ambaquerka*. From puberty till she is fully grown she is called *Wunpa*, and after that *Arakutja*.

Thus, each man has his personal name; his secret

[1] " J. A. I.," xii. p. 163.

or Churinga name; sometimes a nickname; the term indicating the relationship in which he stands to the person speaking to him—his status name, often a term of address connected with the initiation ceremony; his class or sub-class name (Panunga, Purula, etc.), and his totemic name.[1]

Among the Urabunna each man has two names: one given to him as a child, the other at initiation. The Warramunga system is similar to the Arunta, but since they have not the same extensive number of Alcheringa ancestors, they have few Alcheringa names to fall back on. The sacred name is therefore given to him by his paternal grandfather, and may be that of the spot at which the individual was left in spirit in the Wingara, or that of some subsequent ancestor. The sacred name is only given to a fully initiated man in this tribe, whereas in the Arunta it is given at a very early age. Furthermore, there is no secrecy about it in the former as in the latter. The coastal tribes have a single name. To sum up the evidence put forth by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen on this subject it appears:

(1) In the Arunta, Kaitish, Unmatjera tribes there is (*a*) an ordinary name in common use, and (*b*) a sacred name known only to the members of the totemic group, and supposed to have originated with an Alcheringa ancestor.

(2) In the Warramunga group of tribes there is (*a*) an ordinary name; (*b*) a sacred name of post-Alcheringa origin, and known only to the initiated.

(3) In the coastal tribes there is a single name which is that of the grandfather or grandmother. This is the equivalent of the sacred name in the Arunta.

The ceremony of naming the child among the Kakadu tribe is simple. When it can walk the natives assemble in their camp, into which a bundle of spears has been

[1] "Native Tribes" pp. 218, 249, 638.

brought and laid on the ground. The parents sit at one end of the spears, the natives in a semicircle at the other. A male relative leads the child by the hand from among the people to the parents. The father then names his offspring, and the spears are presented to the father.[1] There is apparently no secret name given in this tribe.

The reason why such importance is attached to the personal name in primitive cult is because it is regarded as the *ego* of the individual. The Eskimos, for instance, say that man consists of body, soul and name, of which the last is alone immortal. The object, then, in having a secret name, or changing the original name at initiation, was that an enemy might not injure the person through his name. For this reason the Dyaks change their names after sickness.[2] The names of the dead were, likewise, never pronounced by many tribes in Australia, Tasmania, Polynesia, Africa, and America, lest perchance they should disturb his rest and, in consequence, bring vengeance on themselves.

Because of the sacredness of the name the custom grew up of concealing the name of the deity. Thus, among the south-east tribes of Australia the name of the All-Father Daramulun was never revealed to women or boys before initiation,[3] and Njambe, the High God of the Marutse in Africa, is called Molemo, for the same reason that Mohammedans have substituted Allah for the original Divine name. Although it is not generally known, the most successful attempt at concealment of a sacred name is in the case of Yahweh. So completely did the Jews realize the significance of the Fourth Commandment that the Name which Christians hallow is now totally lost!

[1] "Native Tribes of Northern Australia," p. 339.
[2] Ling Roth, "Natives of Sarawak," vol. i., p. 288.
[3] Howitt, "J. A. I.," xii., p. 192.

The reception into the community and the presentation to the deity are usually two aspects of the same ceremony. Thus, among the Chukchi, on the eighth day after birth mother and child are drawn in a sledge round the tent to the place of sacrifice. The reindeer that draws them is then sacrificed, and the mother and child, together with some of the family, are painted with blood. The name of a deceased relative is then given to the child.[1] A blood brotherhood exists between parent and child and kin, as well as with the divinity. In South-west Africa mother and child are purified by sprinkling with water, and the child is presented to ancestral spirits, and then received into the clan. Among the Kayans and Kenyahs of Borneo naming is the beginning of the child's social life.[2]

It has been shown that parents become tabu through birth. Ceremonial desacralization is therefore often necessary before they are readmitted to the community. The Arunta, where the mother resumes her ordinary life without further ceremonies, form an exception. In some tribes in New South Wales a part of the woman's hair is burnt off before her return after childbirth, as a purification rite.[3] Among higher savages the rites are more complex. Thus the Hopi mother is forbidden to see the sun for five days after giving birth. Various bathings are required, till, on the twentieth day, she takes a vapour bath, and the house and child are thoroughly purified, and the latter is presented to the sun. A feast ensues, after which the mother is restored to the community.[4] Similar instances have been noted in other connexions in this chapter.

The idea of tabu survives in Europe in the custom

[1] "Jesup Expedition," vii., p. 511.
[2] Furness, "Borneo Head-Hunters," p. 18.
[3] "J. A. I.," iii., p. 268.
[4] "Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology," ii., p. 165.

of a woman remaining indoors after childbirth till she is "churched." The Office of the Churching of Women in the Anglican communion is not, however, a survival of primitive tabu, for, as Hooker shows (quoting from Archbishop Whitgift), the proper title of this service is "The Thanksgiving of Women after Childbirth." "The absence of the woman after her delivery is neither banishment or excommunication, but a withdrawing of the party from the church by reason of that infirmity and danger that God hath laid upon womankind in punishment of the first sin, which danger she knoweth not whether she shall escape or no: and therefore after she hath not only escaped it but also brought a child into the world, to the increase of God's people, and after such time as the comeliness of nature may bear she cometh first into the church to give thanks for the same, and for the deliverance by Christ from that sin, whereof that infirmity is a perpetual testimony. And this being done not Jewishly but Christianly, not of custom but to give thanks to God for deliverance from so manifold perils, what Christian heart can for the name's sake thus disallow it." [1]

[1] "Ecclesiastical Polity," bk. v., p. 399.

CHAPTER III

PRIVATE RITES : INITIATION

Classification of Initiation rites in Australia—Dr. Howitt's description of the ceremonies in South-East Australia—The *Bunan* —The figure of Daramulun—Knocking out of the tooth—Instruction of the boys—Ceremonies at the grave—Invocation to Daramulun—The mystic dance—Final ceremonies and clothing of the boys—Rites among the Central tribes—Throwing up of the boys—Preliminary ceremonies on the ceremonial ground—The operation of Circumcision—Subincision—The boy now *Ertwa-kurka*—The *anainthalilima* ceremony—The *Engwura*—The totemic ceremonies—The examination of Churinga—Fire ordeals—The throwing up of fire-sticks over the women ; the lying down of the *Illpongwurra* at night ; the carrying of Churinga to the women's camp—Roasting and painting the *Illpongwurra*—The initiation of girls—The *Atna-arilha-kuma* operation—The origin and purpose of the rites—The growth of Secret Societies—The evolution of the conception of a Catholic Church —*Circumcision,* theories regarding the origin and significance thereof—A sacrifice—A preparation for marriage—Reincarnation—Initiation.

MOST people in the lower stages of culture compel their young men and boys to pass through initiation ceremonies ; indeed, sometimes through a long series of them, extending from the age of eight or ten years to the time when the person is reckoned among the old men of the tribe. Usually, however, they are terminated at the age of twenty. In every tribe in Australia there are certain ceremonies through which all the youths must pass before they are admitted to the ranks of men, or are allowed

to take part in any of the sacred mysteries. Three classes of ceremonies have been distinguished: (1) The eastern and extreme western, characterized by knocking out teeth and similar milder tests of endurance. (2) A narrow area on the inside of these two regions, where circumcision prevails. (3) The central tribes west of a line drawn from Adelaide to south of the Gulf of Carpentaria (except in a small district near Adelaide) where circumcision is only a preliminary to a severer operation. The knocking out of teeth is also practised here, but apparently it is done without significance. To do justice to the subject a separate treatise would have to be devoted entirely to the initiation rites. Here, therefore, it will be impossible to attempt more than a summary of the most representative ceremonies in various parts of Australia.

Among the south-east coastal tribes the characteristic ceremony is the knocking out of one or more of the upper incisor teeth. Messrs Spencer and Gillen conclude from the fact that the central tribes often also perform this ceremony that it was the older form of initiation common to the ancestors of the central, eastern, and south-east tribes, and that in course of time it was, for some reason, superseded, in the case of the central tribes, by the ceremonies now in vogue.[1] When once the latter became established, then the older ceremony lost all sacred significance, and became practised indiscriminately by men and women alike. This view is supported by the fact that while the ceremony in vogue in the eastern and south-east coastal tribes survives in the central region, no trace of the elaborate ceremonies characteristic of the central and western area are to be found amongst the coastal tribes.

Dr. Howitt deals fully with the initiation rites of the south-east tribes, being himself instrumental in procur-

[1] "Northern Tribes," p. 329.

ing the performance of the *Bunan* in the south-east of New South Wales.

The ground, he says,[1] was first prepared, and a circular embankment was made in the centre of the clearing. At a distance of 400 to 500 yards from the mound a lesser place was also cleared, and was so selected that saplings could be arched over, and thus make an enclosure, with only one opening facing the larger *Bunan*. The ceremonies began by a recently initiated youth pretending to be a snake and leading a procession of the men, each having a bough in either hand, round the camps, warning the women that the ceremony is to be held. After dances and songs the men went to the lesser *Bunan*, where they were shown figures representing Daramulun, Junnung-ga-batch (spiny ant-eater) and Murumbul (brown snake). This was repeated with each contingent and extended over several weeks. When all had arrived a fire was made in the great *Bunan*, and the boys, accompanied by their *Kabos* (brothers of the girls who belong to the tribe from which his future wife must be taken), were painted, and a woman's digging stick placed between the boy's feet, on which hung a bag containing a man's full ceremonial dress (the cord of twisted opossum-fur which forms his belt; kilt; forehead band; and the pointed bone worn through the septum of the nose). The boys were then placed comfortably near the fire, and the ceremonies, consisting of dances and performances, began. The cardinal sins were represented in burlesque, and ironically recommended to the boy. At the end of every lewd suggestion the speaker added, "Yah," which negatived all that had been said and done, and gave to the whole of the proceeding a carnival aspect.

The preparation of a life-sized figure of Daramulun

[1] "Native Tribes of South-eastern Australia," pp. 519, 677.

followed, cut in relief on a great stringy-bark tree. This being is the High God who is thought to preside over the ceremonies. Presently a man, covered with charcoal as the representative of Daramulun, emerged from the bushes, dancing and bearing in one hand a piece of wood about eight inches long, and chisel-shaped at the end. He seized the boy by his hands and applied his lower incisor to the left upper incisor of the boy, and forcibly pressed it upwards. He then, dancing all the time, placed the chisel on the tooth, striking a blow with his mallet. This time the tooth was loosened, and blood could be seen. After several more blows the tooth fell out of its socket and was given to one of the old men. No sign of pain was manifest, according to Howitt, except the quivering of the boy's legs, save in one case when thirteen blows were necessary to remove the tooth. In this latter case the boy's yell was drowned by shouts from the men.

The boys then received instruction as to the office and work of Daramulun—that he lived beyond the sky, watched over the tribe, and took care of men at death; in fact, that he was the omnipotent tribal law-giver and sustainer. Standing by the fire they were invested with the man's belt. A long cord of opossum-fur string, folded a number of times, was wound round the waist and fastened by the end being tucked under the folds. This belt is coloured with red ochre. In front hangs the narrow kilt (*burrain*), thrust up under it so as to hang down and preserve decency, being fastened to the belt by the two outside thongs, which are tucked once or twice under and round the belt. A *burrain* also hangs down behind. The novices were now told that they were no longer boys, and must attend carefully to all their *kabos* or guardians told them.

Moral teaching and dances followed as before. The

next day a figure of Daramulun was dug in the ground and dances and instructions as to his nature alternated. A grave was then prepared with digging sticks into which a man was placed with his hands crossed, holding the stem of a young Geebung tree, and his head supported with a rolled-up blanket. A light covering of dead sticks filled the grave, and on them were scattered dead leaves and grass, small plants and such like, to make the illusion complete. The novices were placed alongside the grave, and a dirge-like song was commenced. To the slow, plaintive, but well-marked air of this song the actors began to move forward. Winding among the trees, logs, and rocks, they proceeded to the grave chanting an invocation to Daramulun. As they came near to the grave they wound round its foot and ranged themselves at the side facing the novices and the *kabos*. Then there was seen a slight quivering of the Geebung tree, and the *kabos* directed the attention of the novices to it, saying, "Look there." It quivered more, was then violently agitated, then the whole structure fell to pieces, and the supposed dead man rose up and danced his mystic dance in the grave, showing the *Joias* (magical quartz fragments) in his mouth, which he is supposed to have received from Daramulun himself. The grave, into which the trappings of the actors had been thrown, was then filled up with rubbish.

The proceedings closed with lustrations to remove ceremonial markings on the bodies of those who had taken part in the rites. The novices were led away ahead of the party, being now "completed" and made *ngai* so as to "please Daramulun." They were forbidden during their probation to wash themselves, or to go into water, especially if running, lest the influence with which the ceremonies have filled them should be washed off. After the young men had been painted with yellow ochre and again arrayed in their recently acquired

men's clothing, the party set out for the new camp, previously prepared by the women. Holding boughs high up so as to conceal the newly-made young men in a moving forest, they all walked slowly to the camp, in front of which was constructed the semblance, made of boughs, of a double hut large enough to hold about a dozen people. At the farther opening and inside stood four women, the three brothers of the boys and the sister of one of the former, each having a band of white clay across her face as a sign of mourning. The oldest woman carefully scrutinized the young men, and lightly struck one of them on the back with two boomerangs, whereupon the men shouted to the youths to run. A stampede followed. The novices were then sent to the bush for a period of probation, during which time they received their individual totem names. The teeth are usually preserved and passed on to the Headman, from group to group of the inter-marrying community, to inform them that its owner has been made a man. Finally, it returns to the man from whom it was extracted. Great care has to be taken of this "dangerous" article, lest evil magic should be worked through it by an enemy. Dr. Howitt relates how a native travelled 250 miles to recover a tooth, then in his possession, as he feared that its owner's illness was due to the tooth having been placed in a bag with *Joias*.

The ceremonies vary in different tribes. Daramulun s represented by a pole at Port Stephens; among the Kamilaroi Baiame takes his place; elsewhere Daramulun appears as his son. The Jibauk and Kurnai tribes do not practise the knocking out of teeth. In these tribes the ceremonies are greatly simplified. In the former the boys are isolated, are daubed with mud, and have their hair cut. They receive no special instruction in tribal laws. Among the latter the novices are just "put to sleep," and all conversation subsequently

prohibited. The next morning they are awakened as men, and attired accordingly. They are then shown the bull-roarer and given some frogs. The ceremonies conclude with the "water ceremony," in which the initiated youths splash their mothers, who squirt water over them in return. As in the former case, the boys then retire to the bush for purposes of abstinence and isolation.

The initiation rites of the central tribes have been adequately described by Spencer and Gillen.[1] For the present purpose it must suffice to consider the ceremonies witnessed by them at a spot called Undiara—an important centre of the Kangaroo totem situated near the Fiske River. Unless one is an initiated member of Australian society it is impossible to learn the jealously guarded tribal secrets. The native is as secretive as the Freemason. It is therefore most necessary, in the interests of truth, to confine the search for information on these obscure and secretive rites to those authorities who, like Spencer, Gillen and Howitt, are in a position to give an accurate description of what takes place from personal observation and knowledge.

The first initiation ceremony among the Arunta, Ilpirra and Unmatjera tribes is performed when a boy is between ten and twelve years of age. It consists in the lad being taken to a central spot near to the main camp and there thrown up into the air and caught in the arms of the men, while the women dance round and shout. He is then painted on the chest and back with red ochre. Henceforth he is forbidden to go to the women's camp or play with the children. One night he is seized by his elder brother, wife's brother, and father's sister's son, and taken to the ceremonial ground, where all the men and women are assembled. At the

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 212–386. "Northern Tribes," pp. 328–392.

particular ceremony at which Spencer and Gillen were present, the women opened the proceedings with a dance, after which the boy's hair was tied up and a human hair-girdle wound round the waist. He was then covered up and told to see nothing unless he was requested to watch. (Among the Unmatjera the boy is informed that should he reveal any of the tribal secrets Twanyirika will carry him away.) His mother then gave him a fire-stick and he retired, with his elder brother, to the bush. On his return he was brought to the ceremonial ground, and there learnt for the first time the secrets of the totems, and the history of his totemic ancestors. He saw the ceremonies performed, in which the ancestors of the tribe were represented as they were and acting as they did during life. A *Waninga*, or sacred pole, is used in the sacred ceremonies among the Arunta, but not in the Unmatjera tribe, or other northern tribes. The object represents the body of the totem animal.[1]

The actual operation of circumcision was conducted amid great excitement. The brakes, used as shelters by the *Wurtja* and his attendants, were set on fire, and bull-roarers continually sounded. The women and children think that this noise is the voice of Twanyirika, who comes to take the boy away to the bush till he is better, whence he returns as an initiated man. The *Wurtja* was then placed on a shield, while the *Lartna* song was thundered out by the men and the operation performed. Among the Unmatjera the operator is the boy's father-in-law (*ikuntera*); in the Arunta he is the assistant. As soon as it was over the youth was congratulated and presented by his elder brother with a Churinga belonging to his father, to assist him to recover. Should he lose his life, that of his mother would be in danger. He was also admonished to care-

[1] Native Tribes," p. 251.

fully avoid the track of a lubra while he is in the bush, lest the spirit of the louse, which lives in the lubra's hair, should go on to him, and his head get full of lice. Failing this a worse fate might overtake him. The lubra would perceive that he was following her up and tell his brother to kill him. The foreskin is disposed of in various ways. Among the Unmatjera it is preserved by the *ikuntera* for some time and then he gives it to the boy, and a man who is *gammona* (mother's brother) to the boy comes up and ties it round the latter's waist. The youth then secretly puts it in a hollow tree.[1] There is, however, no relationship supposed to exist between the boy and the tree.

While he was in the bush recovering from the *Lartna* operation he had to undergo the painful rite called *Koperta kakuma*, or head-biting. The lad was placed, lying face downwards, while men of all classes sat round singing of the ceremony. Two were chosen to bite the scalp until blood flowed freely. The object of the operation was to make the hair grow strongly.

When the boy was sufficiently recovered, the operation of *Arilthа* (subincision) was performed. During the previous night the men sat round fires at a safe distance from the women, and performed and explained to the boy the totemic ceremonies. Just before dawn—the youth having ere this retired with his guardians—the father prepared a ceremony, using a sacred pole. The boy was then led by the arm to the pole by his elder brother, who told him that it was his own father's *Nurtunga*, that it had made many young men, and that he must catch plenty of kangaroo and wallaby for his father. There are slight differences here as elsewhere among the various central tribes. Among the Unmatjera, for instance, after embracing it, he is placed on

[1] In former times, according to tradition, the Alcheringa ancestosr placed their foreskins in their *Nanja* trees.

the back of his *umbirna* man (brother of his future wife), who lies on the *nurtunja*. In the case in point—the Arunta—he was laid on a *Tapunga*, formed by two men lying on top of one another, thus making a living table. One man sat astride his body while others held his legs lest he should struggle. With a stone knife the operation was performed by an *ikuntera* of the boy. He was then raised to his feet a fully initiated man ; the pubic tassels were tied on, and the youth told that he was now *Ertwa-kurka*, and that he had no more operations to fear because he was now admitted to the ranks of the men. He carried a Churinga about with him till he was completely recovered. When his recovery was announced all the decorations were removed from his body, and he was laid down on his face while the men sang a chant which is supposed to promote the growth of hair.

On his return to the main camp his blood and tribal elder sisters rubbed their hands and faces on his shoulders and cut off the locks of his hair, which they afterwards use to make up into hair ornaments. This ceremony is called *anainthalilima*. The ban of silence, as far as the officials are concerned, is not removed for some months, although the *Ertwa-kurka* is now free to go into their presence.

The next day he was again conducted to the women. He threw a boomerang in the direction of the spot at which his mother was supposed to have lived in the Alcheringa, as a sign that he is passing away from her control. He was then placed on a fire which had been prepared by the women, and which is now covered with leaves. The women placed their hands on his shoulders and gently pressed him down. After a short time he was taken off by the *Irkoa-arthas*—the name given to the individual who takes charge of the newly initiated during his visits to the women's camp after subin-

cision—and handed on to a few uninitiated boys. After three days' silence, and after he had made an offering of game (*chaurilia*) to the officials, he became a permanent member of the camp. The ban of silence was removed by touching his lips with the *nurtunja*, or some other sacred object.

Although the *Ertwa-kurka* was now regarded as an initiated member of the tribe and allowed to take part in the sacred mysteries, yet he had a long series of ceremonies, known as *Engwura*, to pass through before he became *Urliara*, or a fully-developed man. This rite consisted in the performance of ceremonies connected with the totems, and terminating in an ordeal of fire, the whole having the effect, so the native imagines, of strengthening those who pass through it. It imparts courage, and wisdom, and makes men *Ertwa-murra oknirra* (man, good, very). The ceremonies extend over many months.

First of all messengers were sent out to assemble the tribe at a given point, carrying with them several wooden Churinga concealed by emu feathers, which they showed to the *Alatunja* as an emblem of their "bona fides." The Engwura ground was so prepared that the women and children in the main camp could not see what is taking place. When the local groups had arrived, some travelling a distance of 200 miles, the proceedings began, each group performing its own totemic ceremonies. After two days the leader of the Engwura made a mound called a Parra, which was ornamented with gum tree boughs. No satisfactory explanation was given of this act. The *nurtunja* and the dancers were decorated with down and a sacred ceremony ensued which referred to the wanderings of two Alcheringa women. When this was over the examination of the Churinga by the Alatunja took place. Singing, dancing, and ceremonies by decorated persons

continued, having reference to various totemic peculiarities. At the end of the second phase of the Engwura, the young men were decorated by the old men, and the former became *Illpongwurra*.

A similar series of ceremonies took place in the third phase. There was further examination of Churinga, and the handing of them over to the lizard man. The ceremonies had reference to obsolete marriage customs and to cannibalism, which is seldom now practised by the Arunta. These performances show the changes that have come over the tribe since the days of the Alcheringa, and have the effect of preserving tradition from generation to generation.

The fire ordeals began in the fourth phase. At sunrise the *Illpongwurra* were collected together close to the Parra. Amid the screech of the bull-roarers they were driven away from the camp to hunt game in the bush for the old men, who stayed in the camp performing ceremonies. On their return the *Illpongwurra* were showered by the women with burning grass and boughs that had been previously dried. They shielded themselves as best they could with the bushes they carried. The same night a hole was dug just big enough to hold a man's body, and a ceremony imitating the baking of a man in the earth oven was performed. The next morning at daybreak the *Illpongwurra* were again driven forth, the fire throwing by the women was repeated, and more ceremonies ensued. This order of procedure continued till the last fire-throwing ceremony was performed by the women, and the *Kauaua*, or sacred pole, was erected. Then followed the invasion of the women's camp by the *Illpongwurra*, each armed with a fire-stick which he threw over the heads of the women and children, amid a scene of shouting, screaming and general confusion. This done the men returned to the Engwura ground and lay at the Parra, while the leader

of the ceremonies for eight hours continually lifted up and down the *Ambilyerikirra*—the sacred object consisting of two large wooden Churinga, bound together with human hair-string, and surrounded with rings of white down, the top being ornamented with tufts of owl feathers. Early the next morning the party, headed by three men bearing the *Ambilyerikirra*, and accompanied by a few of the older men, slowly and silently approached the women's camp. When within five yards of the front rank of the women, the men who carried the *Ambilyerikirra* threw themselves headlong on the ground, hiding the sacred object from view. The *Illpongwurra* threw themselves on the top. After several minutes they arose and returned to the Engwura ground.

There are thus three leading incidents in this part of the rite: the first, the throwing up of fire-sticks over the women; the second, the lying down of the *Illpongwurra* at night while the *Ambilyerikirra*, incessantly rising and falling, is held upright before them. The third is the carrying across of the sacred Churinga to the women's camp.

The only explanation the natives can give of this is that rushing across to the women's camp represents an attack by a party of the wild cat men, who are *Illpongwurra* and not yet made *Urliara*, upon another party, and that the lying down quietly in front of the *Ambilyerikirra* represents the "taming" of the wild *Illpongwurra* under the influence of the sacred Churinga. The third phase they do not attempt to explain. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen think the whole ceremony may be commemorative of a reformatory movement which must at one time have taken place in the tribe in regard to cannibalism. This view is perhaps supported by the fact that the natives suppose that a man who has passed through the Engwura is more kindly natured.

It is also significant that the wild *Illpongwurra* who rush with fire-sticks to attack the women should be represented as Achilpa men who have been made into *Urliara*. The falling down in front of the women in the third incident may be an outward sign of a change in their fierce nature.

On their return to the Engwura ground from the women's camp, the *Illpongwurra* were again sent out into the bush with instructions to remain away for two days. In the meantime the *Kauaua* was ornamented with eagle-hawk feathers, head-bands, tail tips, nose-bone and a few Churinga. There is only one form of *Kauaua*, and this is common to all totems. The natives have no idea of its origin or meaning, but it may be concluded from the decoration that it has some relation to a human being and possibly to a spirit individual associated with a tree. Since it is a sacred object common to all totems, it may be regarded as emblematic of some great ancestor or High God connected with the origin of the various totems. If this is so, it would lend support to the growing opinion among anthropologists that the Arunta, like the rest of the tribes of Australia, had an ancient All-Father belief.[1]

The *Kauaua* erected, the *Illpongwurra* had to submit themselves a second time to an ordeal by fire. A fire was made in the bush and the young men were placed at full length on the smoking boughs for several minutes. After resting for a while to recover from the effects of this ordeal, they returned to the camp and witnessed the last of the ceremonies prior to the final fire ceremony. Early the next morning the young men were painted with totemic bands irrespective of their own

[1] There is gradation of sacred objects among the Arunta. The Churinga represents the individual, the *Nurtunga* the totemic group, and the *Kauaua* all the totems or the All-Father from whom they originated.

totems. When all was ready the leader of the Engwura shouted across to the women to this effect, and broke through the middle of the Parra, and through the line of boughs. Through the opening thus made the whole party walked in single file, each *ab-moara* man with his *Illpongwurra* in turn ran forward in a semi-circular course and back again. Then the young men were led up to the fires on which they knelt while the women pressed them down by their shoulders. The men then returned to the Engwura ground—the whole ceremony having taken place in silence—where the newly made *Urliara* men grouped themselves round the *Kauaua*. Thus, the rites closed; the *Kauaua* was taken down and dismantled; the Churinga were sorted out and returned to their respective owners. The old men went to their camps, while the newly made *Urliara* men had to remain in the bush till the ban of silence between them and their *ab-moara* men was removed. This was accomplished by each of the *Urliara* bringing an offering of food to his *ab-moara* man. Further ceremonies were performed in which the older men were sprinkled with blood drawn from the arms of the younger men. The elder *ab-moara* man then took a bunch of feathers previously used in the rites and touched the mouths of all those present. By means of this action, which is called *Aralkalilma*, the ban of silence was broken.[1]

Although the subject of the initiation of girls will be discussed, in a rather different connexion, in the next chapter, a word here on the subject may not be out of place. The various ceremonies which take place on the arrival of girls at puberty are distinctly less impressive than those of the boys. There is seldom an attempt at a formal initiation into the secret mysteries

[1] A *nurtunja*, a fragment of the food offered, or a piece of a decoration, is sometimes substituted for feathers.

of the tribe. A girl at puberty remains in seclusion, alone or attended by a female relative, till her first ordeal is over. With the Arunta the rites are more elaborate and correspond to the initiation rites concerned with men. The first consists in rubbing the girl's breasts with fat and red ochre, accompanied by the usual performances. The second is more painful, and corresponds to the subincision in the male, just as the first is equivalent to the throwing up and painting of the boys.[1] The girl is taken into the bush when she arrives at marriageable age, fourteen or fifteen, and there the operation called *Atna-ariltha-kuma* (*atna*, vulva; *kuma*, cut) is performed with a stone knife. After intercourse with the men who perform the ceremony, her head is decorated by the man who operated and her body is painted with a mixture of fat and red ochre. Thus decorated she is taken to the camp of her special *Unawa* by the men who have performed the rite. She is not given a new name after any initiation ceremony. A number of African tribes initiate the girls with rites quite as elaborate and important as those of the boys. The Vey girls are instructed, in the seclusion of the bush, in various womanly duties—the care of children, cooking, making of nets, etc.—besides dances, games and songs.[2]

It is exceedingly difficult to find a satisfactory explanation of the origin or original purpose of initiation ceremonies. Spencer and Gillen, the most resourceful of investigators, failed to find any significance in the rites, or even of traditions to explain their meaning. All that the native can say is that, in the Alcheringa or its equivalent, there was some ancestor or other who first of all performed the operations upon himself and

[1] There is no equivalent to the Lartna operation or the Engwura ceremony.

[2] Webster, "Primitive Secret Societies," p. 45.

later upon other individuals. Since that time the natives have continued to follow his example, but why their ancestor originally performed the ceremony they have not the vaguest idea.

Dr. Frazer thinks that the ceremonies are primarily intended to affect the assimilation of the youth to his totem. "They become intelligible," he says, "if we suppose that their substance consists in extracting the youth's soul in order to transfer it to his totem. For the extraction of his soul would naturally be supposed to kill the youth or at least to throw him into a death-like trance, which the savage hardly distinguishes from death. His recovery would then be attributed either to the gradual recovery of his system from the violent shock which it had received, or, more probably, the infusion into him of fresh life drawn from the totem." [1] Professor Baldwin Spencer, however, concludes, in a paper read before the Anthropological Institute in 1898, that there is not sufficient evidence to warrant this conclusion.[2] "Though," he says, "a man regards his totemic animal as being the same thing as himself, and only on rare occasions kills and eats it, yet this by no means implies that he regards it as possibly containing the soul or spirit part of himself or of a human relative." Mr. Crawley considers all initiation ceremonies as the outcome of sexual tabu, and therefore directed against the dangers of sexual contact at puberty. He regards the rites as means of safeguarding both male and female—hence the separation of the sexes at these times.[3] According to the more general theory of Frobinius, seclusion, fasting, the taking of a new name, etc., are all parts of a scheme whereby the novices are assimilated to the condition of spirits, that the spiritual power of the dead may be obtained, and a "regenera-

[1] "Golden Bough," 2nd Ed. iii. p. 422.
[2] "J. A. I.," xxviii. p. 280. [3] "Mystic Rose," pp. 294 ff.

tion" thereby effected. In short, initiation is a "rite de passage" from childhood to manhood.[1]

The last two theories agree in making the significance of the rites primarily religious rather than social. This conclusion appears to be supported by existing evidence, especially in those cases where the magico-religious character envelops the whole official cult of the tribe. When a superhuman being is represented as the patron of the clan, or the protector of the ceremonies, or as the teacher of morals, with whom the clan enters into relations or offends by omission of the ceremonies, the rites are thought to be under the control of the being in question, and thus assume a definitely religious or magico-religious aspect. The *Bora*, for example, is a distinctly religious ceremony. It is said to have been instituted by Daramulun himself, and remains under his spiritual charge. Its rites "involve the idea of a dedication to supernatural powers," and the figure of the god, moulded in high relief on the earth in the costume and attitude of the sacred dance, is intended to represent his personal presence.[2]

As the power of the chiefs develops and legal institutions become separated from magico-religious rites, the initiation of adults loses its original character. The shifting of social control from the elders to the tribal chiefs renders unnecessary the whole machinery of tribal initiation. For obedience to the tribe is substituted obedience to the chief. Initiation ceremonies retain their democratic and tribal aspect only as long as the community is governed by tribal elders. In Melanesia and Africa, where political centralization has resulted in the establishment of chieftainships, *secret societies* have everywhere arisen on the basis of the original puberty organizations. Where the political

[1] Cf. Van Gennup, "Les Rites de Passage," chap. ii.

[2] Howitt, "J. A. I.," vol. vii., p. 242, and vol. xiv., p. 306.

power of the chiefs are as yet in a transitional stage, these societies tend to have a social restraining influence, as well as being supplementary to the activities of the former rulers. As these functions disappear with the increase of centralization, they take on a religious aspect. Thus in Polynesia and North America secret societies have developed into fraternities of priests or shamen whose business it is to duly perform the religious rites of the community.

In some cases primitive initiation rites continued long after the establishment of chieftainships. Under such circumstances the chiefs often use them as a means of increasing and consolidating their power, and thus they assume a civil rather than a religious character. Dr. Livingstone shows how among the Bechuanas and Kaffirs the rites are "an ingenious plan for attaching members of the tribe to the chief's family, and for imparting a discipline which renders the tribe easy of command." [1] Sometimes the old rites are reserved for the elite or governing class, as in Melanesian societies where the initiated are the sons of the chiefs alone. Notwithstanding these divergences in development, Dr. Webster is probably correct in saying: "However striking may be the differences between such an institution as the *Bora* of the Australian natives and a tribal secret society like the *Dukduk* of the Bismarck Archipelago or the *Egbo* of West Africa, they appear, in the last analysis to be due fundamentally to the changes brought about when once the principle of limitation of membership is introduced. The process which converts the puberty institution into the secret societies of the people more advanced in culture, seems in general to be that of the gradual shrinkage of the earlier inclusive and democratic organization consisting of all the members of the tribe. The outcome of this process, on the one hand,

[1] "Missionary Travels," p. 166.

is a limitation of the organization to those only who are able to satisfy the necessary entrance requirements; and, on the other hand, the establishment in the fraternity so formed of various degrees through which candidates may pass in succession. With the fuller development of secret society characteristics, these degrees become more numerous, and passage through them more costly." [1] The breakdown of the primitive rites is complete when any one is allowed to enter the secret societies on payment of certain fees.

The sacred mysteries embody, as has been seen, the inner religious life of the tribe. The secret societies represent a means of social control. Notwithstanding the essential difference in function, the societies usually respect the religious traditions and customs that have come down to them, and transmit them to their successors. Thus each of the numerous secret societies of the natives of North America deals with some kind of magical operation—the ripening of crops, the falling of rain, the success of hunting or fishing, and the treatment of innumerable individual ailments. With the disappearance of magical cults the rites degenerate into public rejoicings or mere buffoonery, although the societies themselves, through which communication with the sacred (and in later times, with the divine) is alone effected, retain all the functions of a cult.

All the great religions of the East had initiation ceremonies in addition to their public cults. Some of the Greek mysteries originated in the pre-Homeric period, and, as Tiele has shown, among the western Semites the Syrian cults had their mysteries prior to the Assyrian invasion of the country.[2] In the case of the Hebrews the counter-influence of the Prophets and the

[1] "Primitive Secret Societies," p. 83.

[2] "Religions de l'Egypte et des peuples Sémitiques," p. 296.

Law held in check the tendency to fall back on primitive rites.[1]

The conquest of a nation tended to develop rather than to discourage initiation ceremonies, since the custom was often to extend the privileges of a hitherto national religion embraced by the victorious people to those whom they subjected, through the establishment of initiation rites. Thus Mazdæism organized the mysteries of Mithra, when the Archæmenians penetrated to the Mediterranean. If, on the other hand, the victorious adopted the cult of the conquered nation, again initiation ceremonies had to be instituted in order that they might be admitted to the cult. An example of this is seen in the case of the institution of initiation ceremonies to the *sacra gentilicia* after the conquest of Eleusis by the Athenians, as a way of admission to the worship of Demeter. Gradually others were admitted to the rites, and thus initiation paved the way for the establishment of a catholic religion, with a commission to go and baptise (i.e. initiate) all nations.

Crude and grotesque as are the most primitive initiation ceremonies, yet, like other magico-religious rites, they are made, through the process of evolution, a means of preparing men to receive a universalistic religion in which the *Church* takes the place of the clan or of the society. The best and richest conception of the Church is that which views it, in the language of the New Testament, as the Body of Christ,[2]—as the divinely organized human society, of which Jesus Christ is the Head, and in which mankind is brought into union with God. To this end initiation rites had been gradually pointing in their evolution from magic to the service of religion. They strive more and more to bring about a closer inter-

[1] "Religion of the Semites," p. 358.

[2] Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. x. 17; xii. 27; Ephes. i. 22, 23; iv. 12; v. 23; Col. i. 18, 24.

course between the initiated and the gods. As a consequence new feelings of curiosity and anxiety are exhibited among the novices in the higher systems, allied to which is an ardent desire for communion with the divine, or with the sacred world, as represented by the changing of the seasons, the transformation of the crops or the revolution of the stars. Even in the most primitive culture the rites are thought to evolve mystic influences which bring the novice into contact with spiritual forces, and thereby effect a rebirth. In fact, he is often supposed to actually temporarily pass into the spirit world, and thus come into closest contact with the supernatural. That he carries mana away with him is shown by his being regarded as dangerous until certain ceremonies, such as silence, abstinence, supposed forgetfulness of his previous existence, have been performed. Furthermore, there is frequent recourse to communion, through which the novices, by partaking of the food of the initiated, become assimilated with him. In Australia the Churinga are the instruments by which the youth is brought into contact with the All-Father, etc., while among other primitive people amulets, masks, images, etc., are thought to have a similar effect. In the higher religions this concept often develops into the sacrificial meal whereby a union is established between man and the gods. The communication of man with the sacred—using this term in an anthropological sense—appears to be the essential object and the permanent element in the rites, the sacramental nature becoming more and more pronounced till at last, in the Christian Eucharist, wherein man dwells in Christ and Christ in man, it finds its consummation.

Before concluding the discussion on initiation rites the question of the origin and significance of *circumcision* demand consideration, since of all the customs men-

tioned under this heading, this particular operation has the widest distribution. Excluding Europe and non-Semitic Asia, its range is practically worldwide. Few explanations, however, have been given in folk-lore to account for its origin. "It was so in the Alcheringa," is the typical answer given by the Australian native when questioned on the matter. Here savage philosophy on the subject appears to end.

Since interest in primitive customs has been awakened by the systematic study of anthropology, several theories have been put forth to account for the practice. It has been explained like tattooing, cutting off a finger joint and other mutilations, as embracing the twofold idea of offering a sacrifice to the god and furnishing a tribal mark by which the god may easily know his followers, and they may be known to each other. That it had this latter force among the Semites is attested by its history among the Hebrews. Thus, in Exodus iv. 24, 25, Yahwe is represented as trying to kill Moses or his son, as though he were of a foreign stock till Gershom is circumcised. Then He desists. The priestly writer regards the rite as a sign of Yahweh's covenant with His people.[1] Circumcision no doubt tends to tribal unity both among primitive people and the Hebrews, but at the same time it must be remembered that a tribal mark is usually conspicuous rather than concealed, as for example tattooing or knocking out of a front tooth. There is therefore much to be said in favour of Stade's conclusion that circumcision is not so much a mark of membership of a tribe as initiation into manhood and the acquirement of the full rights of a citizen.[2]

The sacrificial idea connected with circumcision is

[1] Gen. xvii. 10–12.
[2] "Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft."

found among Mayas and Mexicans, where it is symbolical of the sacrifice of the whole body to the deity affecting a union by blood between the individual and the god.[1] In Arabia the circumstances under which it is performed "point to the origin of circumcision as a sacrifice to the goddess of fertility, by which the child was placed under her protection, and its reproductive powers consecrated to her service."[2] But it can hardly be concluded that the rite itself is sacrificial in origin, especially as it is found in such countries as Australia where sacrifice exists only in a rudimentary form. لFurthermore, there is no trace of the sacrificial conception of the custom in the fertility cults of Egypt, Babylon or Syria, or in the Old Testament.

Utilitarian motives have been given by many, including Philo and Herodotus, to account for the origin of the rite.[3] But hygienic principles are by no means conspicuous among primitive people, and therefore this theory is highly improbable. A more reasonable explanation is that it constitutes a preparation for marriage, occurring, as it invariably does, at the age of puberty. In fact, Professor Barton finds this the original cause among the primitive Hebrews.[4] In support of this statement he quotes the cases mentioned in Genesis xxxiv. 14, and Exodus iv. 25, where he thinks the ceremony is connected with the "Bridegroom." But in the former reference circumcision seems to be regarded as a tribal custom which it would be a disgrace to infringe. We will only consent to this exogamous marriage, say the Hebrews, on the condition that the Hivvite becomes an initiated member of the tribe. In the latter case the incident probably

[1] "Origen de los Indios del Nuevo Mundo," p. 29.
[2] Barton, "Semitic Origins," p. 100.
[3] "De Circumcisione," ii. p. 211. "καθαριότητος εἵνεκε," ii., p. 37.
[4] "Semitic Origins," pp. 100, 280 ff.

describes the origin of *infant* circumcision [1]—the characteristic of the Hebrew rite—the change of custom calling forth the anger of Zipporah, who, as a Midianite, was accustomed to circumcision immediately preceding marriage. In this case the rite seems to be more intimately connected with the "blood covenant" than with connubium. "By circumcising the child instead of Moses, and touching Moses with blood, Zipporah symbolically brought her husband into the state which Yahweh was supposed to require; he became a 'bridegroom of blood.'" [2]

No doubt there is some ground for Mr. Crawley's conclusions that "circumcision and artificial hymen-perforation originated in the intention both to obviate hylo-idealistic danger resulting from apparent closure, and to remove a separable part of a taboo organ." [3] Thus is secured the safety of the woman and those who have contact with her. This conception of cleansing attached to the rite among the Jews and Egyptians is in this manner explained, together with that of the sacrifice of a portion of the organ in the phallic worship connected with the phallic deity Elegbra. This theory does not, however, account for incision, neither is it supported by the fact that the removed prepuce of the "tabu organ" is often kept as a charm, or swallowed by the novice or his attendants.

A less probable theory is that put forth by Frazer, as an after-thought, in the "Independent Review." [4] He thinks that "the original intention of the custom among the Arunta boys of placing their foreskins in their *nanja* trees was that of securing the future birth and reincarnation of the owner of the foreskin when he should

[1] The narrative in Exod. iv. 15 is, of course, older than Gen. xvii.

[2] Westminster Comm. "Exodus," p. 29.

[3] "Mystic Rose," p. 135. [4] iv. 208–218.

have died and his spirit returned to its abode in the tree." If this conception has ever existed it is certainly long after the origin of circumcision. The preservation of the bones or body of the deceased is the usual means of securing reincarnation in primitive cult. At the conclusion of the article Frazer answers a question propounded by Professor H. Gunkel as to why circumcision should assure the fallen warrior in Ezekiel xxii. 19, 21, 24 ff. a better lot in Sheol, by affirming that "the Australian evidence suggests that perhaps, in the belief of the ancient Semites, the grave was a bourne from which only the circumcised traveller could return." [1] Even if the words of the prophets imply that the uncircumcised were debarred from resurrection—an idea by no means clearly expressed—it is only because he regarded them as "outcasts"; not in covenant with Yahweh through circumcision: an indispensable condition for participation in the cultus of the nation, and therefore in any benefits that may be derived therefrom in the "under world."

From this brief survey of circumcision it seems evident that no single theory can be said by itself to account for every phase of the rite. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation that can be offered is that primarily it was an initiation ceremony having various interpretations in different localities. In this way the theories that it is a preparation for marriage,—a tribal mark, a means of averting sexual peril, are all correct inasmuch as they represent factors in the initiation to manhood. It must also be, as Zaborowski maintains, a test of endurance, since this motive takes a prominent place in initiation ceremonies.[2] This is practically the result arrived at by Robertson Smith when he says circumcision "was originally a preliminary to marriage, and so a ceremony of introduction to the full prerogative of

[1] Loc. cit., p. 218. [2] "L'Anthropologie," vii., pp. 653–675.

manhood."[1] Mr. Louis Grey, in his encylopædia ("Religion and Ethics"), article on "Circumcision," would go farther than this and say that "all kinds of circumcision are ultimately reducible . . . to one cause, sacrifice; since initiation, with its accompanying austerities, may conceivably be regarded as itself a sacrifice to the tribal deity to gain admission to the people whom he protects."

On this view that the rite originated as an initiation ceremony the transference to infancy among the Hebrews must be regarded as a later change. The primary intention was then dissipated, except that, by becoming a tribal mark, it to all intents and purposes retained its initiatory character. In fact its perpetuation in this form can only be explained by the inherited belief that it was an indispensable condition to participation in the cultus of the clan.[2]

All initiation rites are, strictly speaking, religious because they are all connected with the sacred. Therefore, if the origin of circumcision is to be found in initiation rites, it is a religious rather than a social institution. This conclusion is placed beyond dispute if Mr. Gray is correct in tracing the custom back to sacrifice.

[1] "Religion of the Semites," p. 328.

[2] cf. Deut. x., 16; xxx. 6; Ezek. xl. iv. 7, 9; where circumcision is represented as allegiance to Yahweh.

CHAPTER IV

PRIVATE RITES : MARRIAGE

Modes of obtaining wives in Australia—Infant betrothal—Capture—Arunta customs—Social organization—Individual wives—The wider relation—The Urabunna system—Marriage by love-charms—Arunta customs—Marriage ceremonies in the lower and higher culture—Polyandry—Promiscuity—Polygyny—Monogamy the normal and natural form of marriage—Marriage a natural relationship and permanent union—The Christian ideal.

THE Scriptural account of the origin of marriage as set forth in the opening chapters of the Bible can hardly be regarded as an historical or anthropological explanation of the beginning of nuptial relations. Like the rest of the cosmogony of Genesis this narrative must be looked upon in the words of the late Dr. Driver, as " explanations prompted by the religious reflection upon the facts of life." Nevertheless recent scientific investigation appears to point in the direction of the religious rather than the social origin of the institution. Thus, Mr. Crawley says : " It is only in later culture that marriage is a ' civil act,' and though in early catholic times marriage was not necessarily performed by the Church, it was still in essence a religious rite, and had been so before Christianity, as it was in the earliest ages. One of the crudest modes of marriage known, that of the Arunta, and other central Australian tribes, is proved, by a note of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, to be a real religious act, though to

all appearance this would seem impossible." [1] An examination of the various ceremonies by which man and woman are "joined together" shows that they have just as much right to be called religious as rites connected with birth, baptism and initiation.

To avoid confusion of thought it is necessary to accept a general definition, along the lines of which an investigation of marriage and its attendant rites in primitive society may be investigated. For the purpose of the present chapter, perhaps, the best definition is that set forth by Dr. Westermarck in his later work, "The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas." [2] "As a social institution . . . it is a union regulated by custom and law. Society lays down the rules relating to the selection of partners, to the mode of contracting marriage, to its form, and to its duration." In this way marriage, considered anthropologically, is a social institution having an economic, legal, moral and religious aspect, and a world-wide application; for the tribe has yet to be found in which unions are not regulated by custom and law. Dr. Malinowski, in his "Family among the Australian Aborigines," has clearly proved that individual marriage, as opposed to primitive promiscuity, is the rule in Australian society, quoting forty-nine instances of the modes of obtaining wives in vogue among the natives.[3] Most of these are of a specific nature. The simplest and therefore perhaps the commonest method is to exchange a sister for a wife. Betrothal often takes place at or even before birth, which shows *ipso facto* how deeply-rooted is the idea of the individual right of a man to a woman in the primitive mind. Even in elopements there are certain rites and formalities that have to be observed, as, for instance, the magic sleep into which the parents are cast, and

[1] "Mystic Rose," p. 6. [2] Vol. ii., p. 364. [3] pp. 34–66.

the hasty retreat of the lovers to a convenient distance from the camp ere the irate parents awake. Marriage by capture is not unknown, but Mr. Curr is probably correct in saying that this method is more or less rare as it would lead to constant attacks from the tribe from which the woman was stolen.[1]

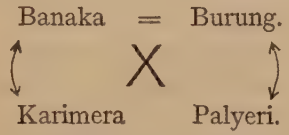
Superficially such modes of obtaining wives appear to be very simple and haphazard, but in reality the elaborate system of phratry organization in vogue among the people greatly restricts a man in his choice of a wife.[2] Accordingly in Australia the tribe is divided into *phratries* or *moieties*, and these again subdivided into *classes*, either four or eight in number. These latter form a special variety of the exogamous system in which a person has not only to marry outside his own class, but has to marry into another specified group. In the four class system each moiety is composed of two sections, the marriages of members of one section of one moiety being limited to one section of the other. In the eight class system each of the four classes is composed of two sections, in which descent follows the same kind of rules as in the four class system, but of a more complicated kind.

The simplest organization is represented by the Urabunna and Dieri tribes of Australia, where dual organization—the system of marrying across—prevails. Among the latter the totem-kins—cross divisions with the class—are found in the phratry, but it is so arranged that no kin is found in both phratries, and marriage is regulated simply by the rule of exogamy. Among the Urabunna one totem-kin may not intermarry with any and every totem-kin of the opposite phratry, but each is limited to one kin. Thus wild ducks are only allowed to marry carpet snakes, the children

[1] "Australian Race," i., p. 108. [2] "Native Tribes," chap. ii.

taking the name of the mother's totem (matrilineal descent).

The Kariera tribe on the north-western coast of Australia is divided into four classes—Banaka, Burung, Palyeri, and Karimera.[1] A Banaka man may only marry a Burung woman. The two classes, Banaka and Burung, thus form an "intermarrying pair," although it must not be inferred that any Banaka man may marry any Burung woman, but only that he may not marry a woman of any other class. The children of a Banaka man and a Burung woman are Palyeri, while those of a Burung man and a Bunaka woman are Karimera. The system may thus be described graphically:



It will be observed that man and wife must belong to opposite phratries and that "descent follows the distaff," since the children belong to the same phratry, though not to the same class, as their mother.

Dr. Rivers has shown[2] that there are probably similar groupings in Melanesia, though of a less definite kind than in Australia.

In the Arunta, unlike most Australian tribes, there are no marriage restrictions whatever as far as the totems are concerned. In this tribe and in other central tribes the totem-kin is found in both phratries, and tends to coincide with the local groups. There may be many kangaroo groups, but all kangaroo people in them are of the same totem-kin.[3] Although methods

[1] "J. A. I.," xliii., pp. 143 ff.
[2] "History of Melanesian Society."
[3] "Native Tribes," chap. ii.

of securing wives in this region include the magic use of love-charms to entice a girl to her lover, and also capture, and elopement, it is the custom of *Tualcha-mura* that is the most usual method of obtaining a wife.[1] An arrangement is made between two men that the relationship shall be established between their two children, one a boy and the other a girl, both of tender years. They are then taken to the women's camp where each mother rubs the other child all over with a mixture of fat and ochre in the presence of all the other women. Some of the girl's hair is cut off and given to the boy to signalize the fact that when grown up it will be her duty to provide him (her son-in-law as he will be) with her own hair from which to make his waist-girdle. The girl must be *Mura* to the boy, that is, one whose daughters belong to the class from which his wife must come. By this ceremony she becomes *Tualcha-mura*, i.e., his actual or prospective mother-in-law. This relationship indicates that the man has the right to take the daughter of the woman; she is, in fact, assigned to him, and this, as a general rule, many years before she is born.

Enough has been said to show that if Australia can be taken as an example of a really primitive community there is absolutely no reason to suppose that primeval society consisted of an undivided commune—a theory put forth be Bachofen, Morgan, McLennan and Lubbock. So rapidly did this theory win favour that in 1891 it was, according to Westermarck, "treated by many writers as a demonstrated truth." [2] No doubt the popularity of the hypothesis was largely due to the fact that it supported the theories of primitive common property and of economic determinism advocated by the Marxian school of Socialists. Almost the only

[1] "Native Tribes," p. 558.

[2] "History of Human Marriage," p. 51.

positive evidence in its favour is the fragmentary testimony of some ancient classical writers, such as Herodotus and Strabo. But even if the examples quoted refer to promiscuity, they are too few to justify the conclusion that all people lived originally in the conditions which they describe. As to the indirect evidence in favour of this theory, consisting of inferences from such customs as matrilineal descent, religious prostitution, unrestrained sexual intercourse previous to marriage and primitive community of property—every one of these conditions can be explained more easily on other grounds than on the assumption of promiscuity.

The attitude of recent authorities to the theory is thus set forth by Howard: "The researches of several recent writers, notably those of Starcke and Westermarck, confirming in part and further developing the earlier conclusions of Darwin and Spencer, have established a probability that marriage or pairing between one man and one woman, though the union be only transitory and the rule frequently violated, is the typical form of sexual union from the infancy of the human race." [1]

Morgan, who is largely responsible for the promulgation of the doctrine of primitive promiscuity, first studied the Iroquois, and, no doubt, thoroughly digested their social organization. He subsequently put Fison on to collect similar facts in Fiji. This latter investigator afterwards went to Australia, where he met Howitt. It is, therefore, easily explained why Howitt is inclined to find group marriage everywhere in the south-east district. Dr. Frazer, in his "Totemism and Exogamy," adopts much the same line.

There are four main arguments put forth in favour of communal marriage:—

[1] "History of Matrimonial Institutions," i., pp. 90, 91.

(i.) *The Classificatory System.*—Because the savage calls all men father it is argued that he has no conception of individual paternity. But it should be remembered that he also calls all women mother. It is surely contrary to the natural order of things to suppose that a woman does not know her own child as distinct from other children, and that the child regards all women as its mother. Again, it is said, the matrimonial class does not define actual marriage but marriageability. That is to say, it defines a group in which a selection of partners may be made according to choice. But the mere fact that the class system shows a man where to look for a wife, presupposes the existence of individual marriage. The classificatory system is based on exogamy. The question, "Why do people marry out?" necessitates, by way of answer, the definition of marriageability.

(ii.) *Supplementary Unions.*—According to Gason [1] the Dieri girls are betrothed to one man in infancy, who, in due course, becomes her *Tippa-malku* husband. This is an individual relationship, since no woman can be *Tippa-malku* to two or more men at the same time. In due course certain supplementary unions are sanctioned by the council of old men. This is called the *Pirrauru* relationship, which is one in which a group of men and a group of women have the right of sexual intercourse with one another. But a *Pirrauru* is always a wife's sister, or a brother's wife, or in some definite relationship to her partner. Therefore, the system is merely an extension of conjugal rights within what the savage regards as the "family circle." Furthermore, the relationship is only supplementary. When a man goes on a journey the *Piraungaru* husband steps into his place; or, if a visitor, being of the proper class,

[1] Woods, "Native Tribes of South Australia," and Howitt.

calls upon a friend the host may offer him his *Tippamalku* as a temporary *Pirrauru*, but only provided he is *Noa* (i.e. in the relation of "spouseship") to her. Therefore this system, though regrettably loose, does not constitute promiscuity, but rather represents an extreme degree of private ownership. In like manner, the sexual relations between groups of men formed by the husband's brother and the group of women formed by the wife's sisters in Melanesia, are but the extension of marital rights to members of a conventional brotherhood.[1]

(iii.) *Ritual Defloration.*—Among all the tribes examined by Spencer and Gillen ritual defloration is practised on the girl by men standing to her in a definite relationship, as a marriage ceremony connected with the handing over of the girl to her allotted husband.[2] There is, however, no reason to suppose that this is a survival of primitive promiscuity. It is rather, as will be subsequently shown, a religious ceremony—a "rite de passage"—safeguarding the dangers to which the individuals are subjected at any transition from one period of life to another.

(iv.) *Ceremonial License.*—Besides ritual defloration and the *Pirrauru* relationship considerable license is allowed on certain occasions when large numbers of men and women are gathered together to perform corrobborees.[3] At such times conventional restrictions such as class rules are broken down, but blood ties are respected. A man may have access to his mother-in-law, who, under normal conditions, is strictly tabu to him, but under no circumstances can there be any relaxation of the rule of chastity observed within blood

[1] Howitt, pp. 175 ff. Seligman, "Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 473.

[2] "Native Tribes," pp. 92 ff. "Northern Tribes, pp. 133 ff.

[3] "Native Tribes," pp. 96, 97.

relationships (actual father, brothers and sons of a woman). Therefore, it may be concluded that on all occasions when ceremonial license takes place, the strict class exogamy does not hold good, but incest, as regards blood relationship, is always strictly forbidden, and, consequently, a state of primitive promiscuity does not exist.

It will therefore be seen that the marital relations of the tribes fall under three headings. The first is the normal one, when the woman is the wife of one man, and no one, without his consent, can have access to her. The second is the wider relation in regard to particular men at the time of marriage. The third is the still wider relation which obtains on certain occasions, such as the holding of important corrobborees. It must not be forgotten, however, that licentious as is the last-named relationship, it is the exception rather than the rule. Under ordinary circumstances, for a man to have intercourse with a woman who is not his lawful wife is a very grave offence and liable to punishment by death. Furthermore, except in those tribes where the *Pirrauru* relationship exists, the system of individual wives prevails, modified as indicated above.

Among the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes, when a girl arrives at marriageable age, which is usually fourteen or fifteen, the man to whom she has been allotted speaks to his *Unkulla* [1] men, and they, together with men who are *Unkulla* and *Unawa* to the girl, but not including her future husband, take her out into the bush and there perform the *Atna-ariltha-kuma* operation as described on page 36. She then becomes the special wife of the *Unawa*, to whom no one else has the right of access, except on very special occasions when he

[1] *Unkulla* is a relationship term applied to the sons and daughters of the latter's sisters.

may, as an act of courtesy, lend her to a "visitor," provided he belongs to the same totemic class as himself. The woman wears the decorations she receives at her marriage rites for a few days, and then returns them to her *Ipmunna* man.

Among the Kaitish, Warramunga, Iliaura, Waagai, Bingongina, Walpari and Luticha tribes similar ceremonies take place, the perforation of the hymen being the central act, though the people set apart for the performance of the operation vary in different tribes. Thus, among the Kaitish it is an *Arari*, or elder sister of the woman, who officiates, and among the Warramunga, Waagai, and Bingongina the operation is performed by a man who is *Turpundi* (the equivalent of the *Ipmunna* in the Arunta) or by an elder sister.

Occasionally magic is resorted to among these tribes for procuring a wife, provided the woman belongs to the proper class. Armed with a small wooden Churinga, corresponding to the "Love charm" in the Yaroinga tribe, the would-be husband goes into the bush accompanied by two or three friends. All night long the party keep up a low singing of Quabara songs and amorous phrases addressed to the woman. At daylight the man stands up and swings the Churinga. The sound of the humming, caused by the bull-roarer striking the ground, is supposed to reach the woman and stir up her affections towards the man. If this brings about the desired result, and the woman comes to the man who has thus sought her, the union is regarded as perfectly lawful, and, in the event of the former husband actively resenting her elopement, the tribe to which the aggressor belongs supports his claims, if necessary, by fighting. But under no circumstances would a man be aided in securing a wife by this method, unless she belongs to the same class into which he might lawfully marry. A *Chilera*, or charmed head-band, made

of opossum or euro fur-string and whitened with pipe-clay is sometimes worn by a lover as a means of magically attracting the woman of his choice.[1]

Although these methods of marriage are occasionally resorted to and permitted by tribal law, yet they are not apparently of frequent occurrence, owing to the dangers attending elopement to those concerned. On the other hand the young Kurnai usually acquires a wife by running away with her secretly with her own consent.[2] A young man so fortunate as to have an unmarried sister, and to have a friend similarly provided, might arrange with him that they should take each other's sisters, these being, of course, consenting parties; for under the peculiar conditions of the tribe the choice of a husband rested altogether with the woman. Or a girl might send a message to a young man, such as, "Will you find me some food?" The services of the *Bunjil yenjin* (a medicine man whose speciality was the arrangement of marriages by elopement spells) were often sought in such cases by former generations.

In the *Atna-arilltha-kuma* ceremony, common to all the central tribes of Australia examined by Spencer and Gillen from the Urabunna in the south to those occupying the western shore of the gulf of Carpentaria, there is represented one of the crudest forms of marriage known, and yet it is in reality a religious act. In Australia universal law forbids a man to marry until after the ceremonies are performed by which the status of young man is reached.[3] Furthermore, the *Atna-arilltha-kuma* operation is in reality an initiation ceremony equivalent to the *Pura-arilltha-kuma* amongst the men, and consequently it always takes place at puberty.[4] The intercourse that follows the rupture of the hymen

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 541 and 543. [2] Howitt, p. 273.
[3] Curr, "Australian Race," i., p. 106.
[4] "J. A. I.," xxiv., pp. 168, 169.

is also a ceremonial act of a religious character. Therefore this primitive form of marriage is essentially a religious rite.

In higher culture, especially in India, South-East Asia, and the Malay Archipelago, marriage ceremonies often become very complex, extending over weeks or months, and tend to have an economic value. To this end objects, clothes, etc., are given by the friends of one partner to those of the other, as the price of the bride or dower. In Melanesia a long series of payments and negotiations with persons of rank take place before marriage. The man who tattooes the girl at puberty—a mark of marriageability—receives food and many pigs, and is also the recipient of a feast at the expense of the relatives. At some time a further payment is made and the girl is then given up, with an extra sum to "break the post near the door used to take hold of in going in and out of the house." The bride is then carried to the husband's party, who take her away. She is obliged to stay indoors for several months till her parents bring another present of pigs and food, with which the wedding banquet is made. Thus the marriage is consummated. The amount given by the bridegroom's party varies according to the wealth and position of the families; from 50 to a 100 *rongo*, coils of native money When 50 is given, the bride's party give in return five pigs; and when 10, ten pigs. They say, however, that the money buys the pigs and not the damsel.[1] No doubt, as Van Gennep suggests, the conflicts that form a prominent feature in marriage rites in many parts of the world are associated with the vested interests affected by a marriage. The family, clan, or village loses a "productive agent" whenever one of its members marry, and therefore it requires compensation.

Another group of rites consist of acts symbolic of

[1] Codrington, "Melanesians," pp. 237 f.

the various features of marriage. The essence of marriage being the " joining together " of man and woman, many ceremonies symbolize the union by the joining of hands and the tying together of garments. Likewise, in Java if a man wishes to be divorced, the priest cuts the " marriage cord " before witnesses, thus severing the nuptial tie.[1] At an Abyssinian wedding the bride and bridegroom hook their little fingers together under a cloth which is held over them, while the Puttooas tie the thumbs of the pair together.[2] Among the Bondei the bride and bridegroom hold hands, each takes his or her *kungwi* by the hand, and each *kungwi* holds the hand of a child.[3] With similar intention the bridal pair are caused to eat and drink together or march round a fire. Eating food together produces what Mr. Crawley calls the *ngia ngiampe* relation, and thereby constitutes the strongest of all ties. Food produces flesh, and therefore the mutual inoculation by the same food makes the two " one flesh." This conception is brought out in a highly spiritualized manner, in the Christian Church, by the Mass forming part of the marriage ceremony in both the Latin and English rite. The practice of pouring rice or wheat on the head of the bride is probably primarily connected with notions of promoting fertility, and, in a secondary sense, of giving food to evil influences to induce them to depart.

Another large group of rites is associated with the superiority of one of the contracting parties. In Morocco a bride mounts a ram when she is painted with henna and boxes its ears, the ram representing her husband, over whom she thus makes herself the ruler. She hangs on it a necklace to make him weak and harmless like a woman, and when it has been killed she puts her right foot on its stomach. To further gain power

[1] " Mystic Rose," p. 325. [2] Op. cit., p. 373.
[3] " J. A. I.," xxv., p. 199.

over her husband she is seated on a pack-saddle as a person rules over the donkey or mule he is riding. So as to become his mistress she smacks at her bridegroom when he is running through the tent, or beats him three times on his body with her slippers in the nuptial chamber. If he cries out she will rule the household, otherwise he will rule over her. The bridegroom tries to gain power over his wife by tapping her three or seven times on the head or shoulder with his sword, or with the cord of his dagger, or by drinking first from the bowl which he then holds for her to drink from.[1] A whip is sometimes given to the bridegroom to show his superiority, and the use of the ring may also be a survival of a ceremony originally designed for a similar purpose.

The intention of a large class of preliminary rites is that of purification, to neutralize the dangers consequent upon the entrance into the marriage state. Reference has already been made to these ceremonies in connexion with ritual defloration. In addition to ceremonial unions to remove the dangers of sexual intercourse, lustrations and kindred rites are often performed. Before the wedding the bridegroom in south Celebes bathes in hot water, and the bride is fumigated. Among the Malays lustrations are continued by the newly married pair for three days. The first ceremonies at a wedding consist in fumigating the bride and bridegroom with incense, and then smearing them with "neutralizing paste" which averts "ill-luck."[2] To this class of customs belong such rites as the shaving of the bridegroom's head, the dishevelling of the bride's hair, the wearing of new clothes, the painting of the garments, etc., with various substances, the use of candles, incense, salt, etc.,

[1] Westermarck, "Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco," pp. 355 ff.
[2] "Mystic Rose," p. 326.

purifications with flour, bread, wheat, etc., the wearing of charms, the bride imitating the appearance of a man, the firing of guns, loud music and singing.[1] Even the persons and animals brought into contact with the bridal pair require purifying.

It is clear from the foregoing rites that primitive man is full of apprehension of the mutual danger inherent in sexual contact, and in the transition from one period of life to another. A wedding is a "rite de passage," and to pass into a new condition or to do anything for the first time is considered to be attended with danger. In the case of marriage the supposed peril is greatly increased by the mysterious and defiling nature of sexual intercourse. The sexual act, therefore, in primitive society is something more than a physiological fact (the significance of which the savage is often apparently ignorant), but a phenomenon complex both in its sociological and psychological aspects. Accordingly it is the object of magico-religious ideas and emotions, resulting in a system of rites, customs, and institutions, which can never be understood without reference to the underlying psychology.

From the foregoing brief survey of the ritual associated with marriage it seems evident that all the ceremonies are of an *individualistic* nature [2] since they always refer to the two individuals concerned and not to groups. It also appears that in nearly all cases marriage is accompanied by some rites having for their purpose the union of the contracting parties. Thus, in Australia the exchange of fire-sticks is binding, and, among the Euahlayi, the promise of a girl has to be strengthened by the act of formal betrothal, in order to make it valid, There can be little doubt but that the joining of hands, the placing of feathers, the exchange of fire-sticks, etc.,

[1] "Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco," p. 321 ff.
[2] "Mystic Rose," p. 320.

have some inherent force, and constitute a form of sacramental union. Thus, a social fact is transformed into a sacrament by endowing the ceremonies with a supernatural sanction. Dr. Malinowski adequately sums up the situation by saying: "As well in the betrothal ceremonies as in infant engagements, in the ideas of legality of marriage, exchange of females and purchase of the wife—in all these facts we find that the aborigines have a deeply-rooted idea and high appreciation of the individual rights of the husband to his wife." [1]

In the case of marriage by the aid of love-charms, a magical element is introduced to give a supernatural sanction to the procedure. The act of union appears to constitute a marriage ceremony of the sacramental kind, similar in character to the union by carnal copulation mentioned by St. Paul. "He that is joined to a harlot is one body, for the twain shall become one flesh" (1 Cor. vi. 16). If such casual intercourse can be described by the Apostle as constituting a permanent union between man and woman, how much more must the merging of two lives into one by marital relations be considered a valid marriage ceremony constituting a permanent alliance. Again, this means of union is of a religious nature, since sexual intercourse is regarded by the human organism as essentially a sacred act. It is, as has been shown, for this very reason that the elaborate tabu precautions have to be taken before the sexes are brought into contact. Marriage is thus the religious act by which, from the most primitive times, the natural inclinations of man for woman, and vice versa, are satisfied in a lawful manner. It would be contrary to the evolutionary principle, by which the world is governed, to find a perfect monogamous system

[1] "The Family among the Australian Aborigines," p. 62; cf. "Mystic Rose," pp. 370 ff.

in vogue in primitive society, though the principle of monogamy is certainly discernible even in the Australian marital relations.

Polyandry, the union of several husbands with one wife, is a derivation from the typical form of sexual union. It exists among the aborigines of America, the Bantus, the Hottentots, and Bahima in Africa, in the Marquesas Islands, in India, and in Indonesia; the custom was also prevalent among the primitive Arabs and the ancient Britons. In most instances, however, it is the exception rather than the rule. Monogamy or polygamy is much more general. As in the case of the Australians, the greater number of polyandrous unions are of the fraternal kind and therefore the custom is softened in the direction of monogamy, since the wife belongs only to the group of men united by the closest ties of blood. Furthermore, the first husband enjoys conjugal rights superior to the others, and therefore the wife had only one husband in the full sense of the term. This is seen in the case of the Urabunna and Dieri, to whom a man of an intermarrying class has the right of access on certain occasions, subject to the husband's consent. The very fact that the husband's consent must be obtained proves that a woman has only one proper husband, and that individual marriage exists, though in a slightly modified form.

The right of access to a woman exercised at the time of her marriage, as practised among the Arunta, is simply a religious duty for the purpose of removing the danger attached to the sacredness of sexual intercourse, and not a survival of a primitive promiscuity. It may, with greater propriety, be classed with "priestly defloration" than with the barbarous practice known as "jus primae noctis," said by some—though upon insufficient evidence—to have prevailed in Europe in feudal times.

Polygyny, the union of one man with more than one woman, is much more common than polyandry, though less frequent than monogamy. Very careful observation is necessary to distinguish between polygamy proper and modified monogamy. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, for instance, state that "individual marriage does not exist either in name or in practice in the Urabunna tribe," [1] whereas, it has been demonstrated above, that in their marital relations the people in question practise a modified form of monogamy. The fact is that polygyny has never been adopted by more than a small minority of any people. Even where it has been sanctioned by custom or the civil law, the vast majority of the population has been monogamous. The reasons are obvious: there are not sufficient women to provide every man with several wives, nor are the majority of men able or even desirous to support more than one wife. Hence polygynous marriages are found for the most part among kings, chiefs, and rich men; as, to wit, the "700 princesses and 300 concubines" of Solomon in the days of Israel's prosperity.[2] In the most primitive society polygyny is almost unknown, because hunting and fishing are the chief means of livelihood, and female labour has not the value that attaches to it when a man's wives can be employed in tending flocks, cultivating fields and performing handicrafts. As wealth increases the practice becomes more general, till in a still higher stage of culture it tends to give way to monogamy.

Westermarck has admirably summed up the whole situation by saying: "It is not, of course, impossible that, among some peoples, intercourse among the sexes may have been almost promiscuous. But there is not

[1] "Native Tribes," p. 63.

[2] 1 Kings xi. 3.—The threescore queens and fourscore concubines of Songs vi. 8 is a more probable estimate.

a shred of genuine evidence for the notion that promiscuity ever formed a general stage in the history of mankind. . . . Although polygamy occurs among most existing peoples, and polyandry among some, monogamy is by far the most common form of human marriage. It was so among the ancient peoples of whom we have any direct knowledge. Monogamy is the form which is generally recognized and permitted. The great majority of peoples are, as a rule, monogamous, and the other forms of marriage are usually modified in a monogamous direction. We may without hesitation assert that, if mankind advances in the same direction as hitherto ; if, consequently, the causes to which monogamy in the most progressive societies owes its origin continues to operate with constantly growing force ; if especially altruism increases, and the feeling of love becomes more refined, and more exclusively directed to one—the laws of monogamy can never be changed, but must be followed more strictly than they are now." [1]

The institution of marriage is founded on the requirement of man's nature. If it be granted that human nature is Divinely ordered, it follows that marriage must have been " ordained by God."T aking the word natural in its full sense, monogamy is the only natural form of marriage, and therefore the race has universally approved it because it is in harmony with man's nature. In all stages of culture it has been found that it is not good for man to be alone. As a mere individual he can hardly exist, and certainly cannot fulfil his purpose in the world. Man is, in the words of Aristotle, " naturally a civil animal." Some kind of community is necessary for him to live the fulness of his life, and therefore marriage is not an artificial regulation of civilized society, but a natural necessity in all ages of man's terrestrial

[1] " History of Human Marriage," pp. 133, 459, 510.

history. Were the human species constituted as the lower animals a merely passing union of the sexes would suffice; but more than this is required. The offspring requires long continued care after birth. A parallel is, of course, found in the case of some other animals, but in a less degree. Child-bearing in the human organism continues for some time, while the elder children are growing to maturity, whereas in other animals the young are usually independent of the mother before other offspring are born. The connexion of human parents, therefore, is indefinitely prolonged, extending beyond the age of child-bearing. As a consequence of this prolonged intimacy there appears the phenomenon of human love independent of sexual desire. In the same way the parental and filial affections of the human species pass the bounds of mere devoted care, as seen in the case of the lower animals, which terminates with the period of protection.

Marriage is, then, the permanent connexion of man and woman, and as such it is natural in origin, though religious and Divine in purpose. It is sacred, being intended primarily to perpetuate life. Its secondary ends are the "mutual society, help and comfort that the one ought to have of the other in prosperity and adversity," as well as a lawful remedy of concupiscence. But if marriage is "the permanent living together of man and woman" in a natural relationship—a statement in complete accord with anthropological evidence as well as with Christian tradition—it therefore follows that it is indissoluble. A momentary connexion suffices for the purposes of procreation, but the community spirit and instincts of parentage and human love are all against a partial union of man and woman. "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall be joined unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh" is the underlying *principle* of marital relations

in all ages of culture. Even among such people as the Arunta, marriage, and, except on rare occasions, sexual intercourse, is only allowed between those who are in a totemic blood relationship, and therefore, in a sense, "one flesh." In more advanced society this conception is remarkably clear. Thus, among the Orang Benuas a marriage is solemnized by one of the old men making the following declaration: "Listen all ye that are present; those that were distant are now brought together; those that were separated are now united." [1]

This permanent union of husband and wife raises man above the lower animals by constituting the family system. Thus, as Bishop Westcott says: "The Family includes three primal factors: husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister. And these three relations reveal the essential law of all human fellowship. They are . . . the original sacraments of society." It is, of course, only in the higher stages of culture that the ideals of marriage are actually realized. The monogamic and indissoluble properties of the rite were by no means clearly defined in pre-Christian times. Even among the Hebrews polygamous marriage was tolerated and the right of dismissal allowed. Christ revoked the dispensations granted in the Mosaic Law by assigning the origin of the union to the Divine order of things, thus raising marriage to the dignity of a sacrament. He was content to describe the beginning of the institution in the language of the book of Genesis, probably because this was the only origin known to the Jews to whom He was speaking. It was His custom to take His opponents on their own ground and by judicious questions arouse their consciences to confess that if only they followed out their own beliefs to their legitimate conclusions they must accept His teaching. But it does not follow that He meant to endorse the correct-

[1] Newbolt, "British Settlements in Malacca," ii., p. 407.

ness of those beliefs in their entirety.[1] It would be out of place here to enter upon any discussion of the mysterious question of the limitations of Christ's knowledge in His life on earth. But it is undoubtedly "easier to conceive of our Lord using this sort of arugment, if we accept the position that He, the very God, habitually spoke in His incarnate life on earth under the limitations of a properly human consciousness." [2]

Christ asserts that the union is in one flesh—"And they twain shall become one flesh; so then they are no more twain, but one flesh" (St. Mark x. 8). The result of such Divine joining is that man may not put it asunder. The Christian Church has therefore upheld the sanctity of marriage, and at all times forbidden both polygamy and divorce, though in other respects it took over the rites of pagan Rome and Christianized them.

The essence of marriage according to modern custom is the mutual consent of the contracting parties, whereby, in the presence of witnesses, they accept one another as husband and wife. But as this may be a civil contract, Christian people naturally seek the benediction of the Church, that the alliance may become *Holy* matrimony. In the primitive Church the Christian element in the rite was the celebration of the Eucharist with a special benediction of the wedded pair. Thus, Tertullian says: "Unde sufficiamus ad enarrandam felicitatem ejus matrimonii quod ecclesia conciliat, et confirmat oblatio, et obsignat benedictio, angeli renuntiant, Pater rato habet?" The Nuptial Mass thus took the place of the sacrifice to the gods. The Roman (pagan) rite consisted of (I) Sponsalia (betrothal): (*a*) Arrhae (presents); (*b*) the kiss; (*c*) the giving of the ring; (*d*) joining of hands. (II) Conferreatio (wedding proper): (*e*) blood sacrifice to the gods; (*f*) veiling;

[1] Cf. Sanday, "Bampton Lectures," p. 419.
[2] Gore, "Bampton Lectures," p. 198.

(*g*) crowning with flowers; (*h*) prayers; (*i*) partaking of the sacrificial cake. Then followed the procession and the *coena nuptialis*.

The Christian office, as described by Pope Nicholas I in A.D. 866, bears a striking resemblance to the heathen rite. The order was as follows: (*a*) Sponsalia; (*b*) Subarrhatio (giving of the ring); (*c*) conveyance of the dowry by attested documents; (*d*) the Nuptial Mass with the communion of the bridal pair; (*e*) solemn Benediction, with the veil held over them; (*f*) crowning as they leave the Church.

The Sarum "Ordo ad faciendum Sponsalia" consisted in the Espousal, Twofold Benediction and the Nuptial Mass, in which, after the Fracture, the solemn Benediction was given. The first two sections were practically reproduced in the 1549 Prayer Book, and the Nuptial Mass was replaced by the rubric regarding the reception of Holy Communion at or immediately after the marriage.

CHAPTER V

PRIVATE RITES : DEATH

The fear of death and the dangerous condition of the dead—Dieri rites—Customs among the Kurnai—The *Bret*—The Wotjobaluk—Roasting the dead in South Australia—The Arunta ceremonies—The *Urpmilchina* ceremony—Burial customs among the Northern tribes of Central Australia—Reincarnation The belief of the Wathi-Wathi—The conception of body and soul—Immortality—Evidence from Palæolithic remains of a life after death—Neolithic interments—"Soul houses" in Egypt—Orientation—Funeral feasts—Sacrifice for the sins of the departed—Communion with the dead—The Communion of Saints.

THE horror of death is a universal phenomenon, and everywhere contact with a corpse renders a person tabu. Therefore the greatest care has to be exercised in approaching or dealing with a dead body. Even a warrior who has slain an enemy in battle is not exempt from ritual purification. So contagious is the tabu that the prohibitions consequent on a death extend to the whole house, the whole family, the whole clan, the whole village, even to the fields and sometimes to the skies. The Jewish Law enacted that "whosoever is unclean by the dead: both male and female, shall be put out, without the camp shall ye put them; that they defile not their camps, in the midst whereof Yahweh dwells" (Num. v. 2, 3). A high priest might on no account "go into any dead body" (Lev. xxi. 11). The "Sacred Books of the

East " proclaim the same tabu.[1] He who has touched a corpse is " powerless in mind, tongue and hand." For this reason a dead body was buried by night in Rome and Greece, lest it should pollute not only man but even the sunlight. All persons present at a Roman funeral were sprinkled with lustral water and caused to step over a fire. Such customs as these, prevalent in an advanced stage of culture, show how deeply rooted in the human mind is the conception of the tabu attached to a corpse.

In rites connected with death two aspects are apparent. On the one hand there is the fear of death and of the dangerous condition of the dead. On the other hand there is the affection for the deceased, which bewails his departure. For, as Spencer and Gillen are careful to point out in connexion with the Australian burial customs, the savage " is certainly capable of genuine grief and of real affection for his children." [2]

When one of the Dieri is dying his relations separate into two groups. The first group, consisting of near relatives, sit down close to the dying man; the other group, made up of more distant connexions, remain at some distance from him, and carefully avoid seeing his face, lest they should be drawn to the spirit world by the departing soul, or have a great longing for the deceased. After death the mourners wail for hours and smear their bodies with pipe-clay. The women and children leave the camp, the men pull down the hut of the deceased, the body is prepared for burial by tying the big toes together and fastening the thumbs behind the back and enveloping the corpse in a rug or net. This is supposed to prevent his " walking." Meanwhile the men of the second group dig the grave in a sandhill, where it is easy to dig. Eight men take

[1] " Zend Avesta," Pt. I, p. 120.
[2] " Native Tribes," p. 511.

the corpse on their heads to the grave. The corpse is questioned by an old man, who beats rods together, as to who was the cause of his death, that is, by magic. The men sitting round act as interpreters for the deceased, and according as opinion prevails the name of some native of another tribe is given. The body is then removed from the heads of the bearers, and is lowered into the grave. Howitt, quoting from Gason—a rather doubtful authority—adds that "an old man who is in the relation of *kami* to the deceased steps into the grave and cuts off all the fat adhering to the face, thighs, arms and stomach, and passes it round to be swallowed by the relations. The mother eats of her children, and the children of their mother, a man eats of his sister's husband, and of his brother's wife; mother's brothers, mother's sisters, sister's children, mother's parents or daughter's children are also eaten of; but the father does not eat of his children, nor the children of their sire." [1]

Among the Kurnai, when a man dies, his relatives roll him up in an opossum rug and enclose it in a sheet of bark, cording it tightly. A hut is built over it, and in this the mourning relatives collect. The corpse is placed in the centre and as many of the relatives as can find room lie with their heads on it, lamenting their loss, saying, for instance, "Why did he leave us?" Now and then ear-piercing wails are uttered by near relatives, who would also cut and gash themselves with sharp stones, tomahawks, etc. These violent expressions of grief continue for several days, and then the corpse is examined, the hair plucked off the whole body and preserved in small opossum bags. The body is again rolled up, and not uncovered till decomposition has set in sufficiently as to enable the survivors to anoint themselves with oil exuded from it. This custom, together

[1] "Native Tribes of South-eastern Australia," p. 449.

with that practised by the Dieri of eating a portion of the corpse, is probably adopted as a means of attaining communion with the dead person. The body in its bark cerements accompanies the family on its wanderings, till finally, after several years—it having by this time become merely a bag of bones—it is buried or put into a hollow tree.

Sometimes the father or mother carries a lower jaw as a memento, a custom corresponding to the *Bret* or dead-hand ceremony frequently practised by the Kurnai. This consists in cutting off one hand of the corpse or both hands soon after death, which are wrapped in grass and dried. A string of opossum fur is attached to it, so that it can be hung round the neck and worn in contact with the bare skin, and under the left arm, by parent, child, brother or sister. It is supposed to warn the wearer of the approach of an enemy by pinching him. The way the adversary is coming is indicated by the direction of the vibration of the hand.[1] Apart from this utilitarian use, the *bret* is no doubt regarded as a bond of union with the departed.

When a man of the Wotjobaluk tribe dies he is corded up with his knees drawn up to his chest, his arms crossed, under which his spear-thrower is placed. He is then rolled up in his opossum rug. An oblong grave is dug about four feet in depth, at the bottom of which a sheet of bark is placed, and on this leaves, covered with strands of opossom pelt, to make a soft bed for the deceased. More leaves and pelt are laid on the corpse and over it bark, and then the earth. Logs are placed on the grave to prevent dogs interfering with it. A fire is then lighted at the grave for the ghost to warm himself, and the relatives return to their camps. On the following day they revisit the grave and clear an oval space, about thirty

[1] Howitt, "Native Tribes of South-eastern Australia," pp. 459, 460.

paces in diameter. After this they forsake the place for several months. Small fires, believed to be lighted by the ghost, are thought to be seen at the grave by night at times.

The tribes in the district about Adelaide, Gawler and Gumeracha bury the dead in a straight position, wrapped up in a Wallaby rug, and packed comfortably with leaves and tender boughs. The body is placed on a bier and the hole dug with the women's sticks. The heap is supposed to contain the *wingka* or breath which is set free by loosening the soil. The bier is made of ten or twelve branches arranged like the hub of a wheel; when they come near a large tree they rest the bier against it, probably in order to allow the spirit of the dead man to pass into the tree; for here it is believed that the dead live in trees.

The Encounter Bay tribe of South Australia roast their dead before burial, and, in the Obens River district of Victoria, the bodies of married people are burned. In New South Wales the corpses of old men are burned, but the young are buried. South of the Gulf of Carpentaria the body is enclosed in a net, so that the head points northwards. The deceased's property is usually destroyed by fire, though occasionally it is distributed among his tribal brethren.

In the North of Queensland, as a rule, the body is exposed on a platform, or the flesh eaten, or the body is buried and the bones subsequently exhumed. The disposal of the bones is the main funeral ceremony and is often reserved for favoured individuals, as warriors, magicians, etc. The knee-cap is removed before the corpse is placed in the grave, or the body is buried head-downwards, to prevent the ghost returning to trouble the relatives.[1]

Among the Arunta the body is buried very soon after

[1] N. W. Thomas, "The Natives of Australia," chap. xii.

death. It is placed in a sitting position with the knees doubled up against the chin, and is thus interred in a round hole in the ground, the earth being piled directly on to the body. The mound thus formed is always made on the side facing the direction of the deceased's camping ground in the Alcheringa. The object of this is to allow every ingress and egress to the *Ulthana* or spirit, which is supposed to spend part of its time watching over near relatives, part in the grave and part in company with its *Arumburinga* or spiritual double, who lives at the *Nanja* spot. A man's hair is cut off, and his armlets, necklaces and fur string carefully preserved. Among the witchetty grub people Churinga, supposed to represent the eggs of the grub in the Alcheringa, are buried with a man.

As soon as burial has taken place, the camp in which the death has occurred is at once burnt down, and all the contents destroyed. The whole of the local encampment is then shifted to a new place. Among the Warramunga the body is placed on a platform made of boughs until the flesh has disappeared, when the bones, except those used as pointing bones, are buried.

During the twelve or eighteen months of mourning the Arunta never mention the name of the deceased, unless it is absolutely necessary to do so, and then only in a whisper for fear of disturbing his spirit. If the *Ulthana*, or ghost form, hears his name mentioned he concludes that his relatives are not properly mourning for him, since it would cause them too much pain to hear his name uttered. He shows his displeasure by troubling them in their sleep. Some relatives may never mention his name. Others are permitted to speak of the deceased when the time of mourning is over. In this latter the Arunta differ from some of the other Australian tribes. Widows in some tribes are not allowed to speak for a certain period after the death of

their husband. During this time of " deep mourning " she smears her face, hair and breasts with pipe-clay.

After the lapse of twelve or eighteen months the ceremony of *Urpmilchina* is performed at the grave. (The meaning of the term is " trampling the twigs on the grave.") The widow is again painted with pipe-clay, white being the colour of mourning among the natives. The women then approach the *Gammona* (mother's brothers) uttering the characteristic wail, led by the widow carrying the *Chimurilia*—a chaplet made of small animal bones collected from various sources, attached to locks of hair obtained from female relatives of the dead man. Standing behind each man, the widow thrusts the *pitchi*—a hollowed trough used for carrying food and water—under the arms and on the laps of each in turn, embracing him from behind. The sons of the *Gammona*, or their sons, start off for the grave. About midway they are met by the eldest son of the deceased's eldest brother, and a halt is made. Taking the *Chimurilia* from the *pitchi* he approaches certain of the male relatives of the dead man, and embraces them all in turn, pressing, as he does so, the *Chimurilia* against their stomachs. Then he places one *Chimurilia* on the head of the widow and the other on that of a younger sister of the dead man, and fur string rings and parrot feathers on the other women. The man who superintends this part of the proceedings leads the way. First the party visit the camp where the man died and dance round the charred remains. This over, they set out for the grave at a run, in a circuit, shouting loudly. Although the native can give no explanation, the idea is probably that the spirit is frightened by the noise and the *Chimurilia*, and is prevented from returning to the camp from which they are supposed to be driving him, by making the circuit. Thus, he is forced to take refuge at the bottom of the grave.

This view of Spencer and Gillen is supported by the fact that the leader jumps and dances on the grave as soon as he reaches it—a performance carried on by the rest of the party excepting by certain of the women. When the twigs forming the covering to the grave are thoroughly broken up the dancing ceases, the widow and the other women cleaning up the *débris*. The women who had not taken part in the dancing now approach the grave and strike and cut their heads until the blood flows on to the grave. The *Chimurilia*, etc., are then torn in pieces and the remains placed in a hole dug by the widow on the top of the grave. The men and women then prostrate themselves on the grave for a few minutes, the widow wipes off the pipe-clay to show that her mourning is at an end. If she is anxious to marry again she paints a narrow white band on her forehead.

The spirit of the dead man is supposed to watch these proceedings from the bottom of the grave. He knows that he has been properly mourned for having been through similar ceremonies during his lifetime. The broken *Chimurilia* is left at the grave to act as a perpetual memorial of this fact, lest he should forget and trouble the survivors in consequence. He may still watch over his friends, guard them from harm, and visit them in dreams, but he must not come in such a way as to frighten them.[1]

A corresponding ceremony takes place in the case of a woman. The actual mother of the deceased takes the part of the widow.

In the tribes to the north of the Arunta—the Unmatjera, Kaitish, Warramunga, Tjingilli, etc.—earth burial is preceded by tree burial, except in the case of old women and very old men, who are buried at once in the earth. When a man dies his *gammona* and *itia*

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 497–511.

(younger brother) carry the body to a tree a mile or two away from the camp, accompanied by the *unkulla* (father's sister's son) and the *mura* women of the dead man. A platform of boughs is made, and the *unkulla* standing on this receives the body from the *gammona* and *itia* and cover it with fresh boughs. They then all return to the camp, and the grave is carefully avoided for some time. The *gammona* cut themselves upon the shoulder, the actual father of the deceased cuts off and burns his whiskers and moustache, and the *itia* cuts off and burns the hair from the head of the widow. This is done to avoid the pain the sight of it must give to the *itia*, knowing as he does that the dead man has seen it so often. The widow is also bound to constantly cover her body with ashes during the time of her mourning, and to keep the ban of silence till released from it by the *itia*, after many months. When this takes place she makes him an offering of food, with a fragment of which he touches her mouth. There is no *Urpmilchina* ceremony among the northern tribes of central Australia.

After some months, when all the flesh has disappeared from the bones, the remains are buried by the *gammona*, the head facing his *gammona's* Alcheringa camp, or, in the case of a woman, the head faces the camp of her mother. The dead man's spirit is now supposed to go away and remain in the Alcheringa spot till it is reincarnated. In these tribes the widow usually becomes the wife of the dead man's younger brother, when the mourning is over. This custom, sometimes called the "levirate law," is found among the Jews (Deuteronomy xxv. 5) and other oriental nations, and is common in people in a primitive state of culture.

According to Spencer and Gillen reincarnation constitutes the Australian belief as to a future life. This

conclusion has been questioned by Strehlow.[1] In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to dogmatize on the subject. Strehlow, however, reports two Aranda beliefs, which certainly appear to support his view that the germ—*ratapa*—issues from the body of a totemic ancestor, or that an ancestor throws a small bull-roarer at a woman, in whose body it changes to a child. They also believe in an island of the dead, from which a spirit returns for temporary reincarnation, lasting for a year or two, and is finally annihilated ; and that the good dead live with Altjira, the sky being. These facts taken collectively make the Spencer and Gillen theory very doubtful.

The Australian is less concerned with eschatological problems than many people in a primitive state of culture. Like all other aborigines he believes that death is the result of evil magic practised by an enemy, and must if possible be avenged, only too often on the innocent. It has been seen that the method of the disposal of the remains are many and various, almost every tribe having its own customs. The most general manner employed is that of burial in a prepared grave, although even in this case there is a difference, for some tribes lay the corpse out in an extended attitude, while others cord it together with knees drawn up to the chin and the arms crossed on the breast. The body is often orientated according to the totem to which the deceased belongs. Weapons are placed beside the body, except in such cases as it is deemed expedient to let the soul enter the spirit world unarmed. The grave is made as comfortable as possible that the spirit may not wish to wander about. Heavy stones are not infrequently placed on the grave to render untoward peregrinations difficult. As a rule the grave is dug near the camp, though there are exceptions even to this.

[1] " Globus," xci., p. 285 ; xcii., p. 123.

There is nothing in the nature of a cult of ancestors. The dead are feared, certain powers are ascribed to them, such as sending rain, raising storms, procuring a good catch of fish. They are also frequently invoked but not as ancestors. The belief of the Wathi-Wathi, on the Lower Murray, is amongst the most complex. They say that the spirit starts for the sky when it leaves the body; another spirit gives it instructions as to the way to be taken. There are two roads, one clean, the other dirty; the dirty is the right one, for the other is only kept clean by bad spirits in the hope of tempting men to follow it. Then the spirit meets a woman, who tries to seduce it; then two women with a skipping rope, the woman on the clean side being blind. Then on both roads is a deep pit from which flames arise, but a good spirit can clear it at a jump. Two old women take care of it. Then the god Thalathapuli comes to try the spirit's strength, and throws *nulla-nulla* at a meteor which is an emu.[1]

Rites connected with death and burial set forth certain primitive conceptions of the separation of body and soul, of the fears, hopes, beliefs entertained about the dead, as to their future, and their relations with the living. There can be little doubt that a very powerful ritual motive is to be found in the fear of death as a mysterious phenomenon rendering the corpse an exceedingly dangerous object to the living. This probably plays a greater part in the mourning rites than actual grief for the loss of a relative. Thus among the Arunta a widow is placed under a ban of silence because she belongs to a dangerous class of society till the time of her mourning is ended. Frazer mentions a similar instance among the Maoris. "Any one," he says, "who had handled a corpse, helped to convey it to the grave or touched a dead man's bones, was cut off from

[1] "Natives of Australia," p. 204.

all intercourse and almost all communication with mankind. He could not enter any house or come in contact with any person or thing without utterly bedevilling them. He might not even touch food with his hands which had become so frightfully tabooed or unclean as to be quite useless." [1]

Therefore although savages are capable of very real grief at the death of a kinsman, yet mourning ceremonies must be regarded more as a sign of tabu than of sorrow. The self-inflicted pain and loud lamentings are also probably not outward expressions of mental agony. It is much more likely that these are tribal customs which have to be performed to avoid greater ills that might be inflicted upon the living by the dead.

In all stages of culture man seems to have realized that he is composed of two separate entities—body and soul. The soul may separate from the body before death, as in dreams, sickness, etc. The distinction between such a separation and death is that the latter is final. But primitive people cannot conceive of the survival of a man's soul apart from a semi-material existence. The dead must continue the life they lived while in the flesh. For this reason offerings of food and drink are made at the grave, the killing and burying alive of slaves and wives with the corpse together with weapons, dead horses, etc. Many other observances of a like nature take place that are matters of such common knowledge that they do not require enumeration here.

There is, however, a very important question intimately connected with these customs, which testifies to a universal belief in immortality. It has been asserted by certain archæologists that, in view of negative evidence on the subject, prehistoric man neither buried his dead nor believed in a life after death. This

[1] "Golden Bough," iii., Pt. ii., p. 138.

unwarranted assumption has, however, been entirely disproved by recent excavations.

On August 3, 1907, a grave was discovered at La Chapelle aux Saints in which the skeleton lay on its back from east to west. Around it were a quantity of Mousterian implements, fragments of ochre and broken bones, while over the head were several long bones of an ox lying flat, one of them still in connexion with some smaller bones of the foot and toes, so as to suggest that it was still clothed with flesh when it was placed in this position. This was evidently a ceremonial interment, accompanied by offerings of food and implements for the use of the deceased in the spirit world.[1]

On March 7, 1909, another Palæolithic interment was found at the well-known site at Le Moustier. The body —that of a youth about sixteen years of age—lay on its right side with the right arm bent so as to support the head on a pillow of flints, and the left arm extended. Within easy reach of the latter lay a magnificent oval-shaped implement, worked on both sides, while burnt bones and flints were disposed about the skull. There is little doubt that man in these remote days believed in a life after death, for in what other way can be explained the placing of weapons, food-offerings, etc., in the grave? Furthermore, the fact that these interments with funeral rites have been so circumstantially carried out, suggests that they were founded on an already established cult of the dead. This conclusion will be placed beyond dispute if archæologists can eventually prove that the interment at Galley Hill is really of early Pleistocene antiquity. Even in the present state of our knowledge there is little ground for the theory put forth by Mr. F. H. Capron and others

[1] "L'Anthropologie," 713, xxiv., pp. 609–634. Sollas, "Ancient Hunters," pp. 180, 181.

that Palæolithic man was, in reality, merely a tool-making animal devoid of a spiritual nature.[1] If the soul was the result of an inbreathing of " the breath of life " in post-Neolithic times, Palæolithic man in the Mousterian phase and later would not have practised rites which point to his having a somewhat definite conception of a life after death.

The skeletons found in the Aurignacian caves at Mentone supply additional evidence for the assumption that funeral rites were practised in the Palæolithic age. Here again implements and red ochre were buried with the bodies. In some cases the interment was made over a hearth, in others in a grave or rudimentary tomb made by placing flat stones on edge for the wall and roofing it over with larger slabs. The skeletons, all of which show Cro-Magnon features, were adorned with a necklace made of the teeth of deer, vertebræ of fish and carved pendants. No doubt these adornments were part of the burial rites. The Magdalenian remains found at Laugine-Basse and the Azilian site at Ofnet show that similar customs were in use at the close of the Palæolithic age. At Ofnet twenty-seven skulls were orientated in the same direction, looking towards the setting sun. By Neolithic times the evidence for ceremonial interments is overwhelming.

When these prehistoric interments are compared with the funeral rites of the Bushmen the conclusion that Palæolithic man believed in a life after death is placed beyond doubt. Among these primitive people the body of the deceased is painted with red ochre and grease, and buried facing the east. His bow and arrow —corresponding to the flint implements found in Palæolithic interments—is laid by his side.

The religion of primeval man may justly be said to involve a belief in intercourse between mankind and

[1] " Conflict of Truth," chaps. xvii. and xviii.

the supernatural world. It may also be assumed from the placing of weapons, ornaments, etc., along with food for the journey of the soul to the unseen world, that prehistoric man, like other primitive people, regarded life beyond the grave as a continuation of life on earth.[1] As such he looked forward to it with hopeful anticipation. Thus, the tumuli to be found all over Europe are regular houses of the dead modelled on the plan of those they occupied in life. The greater the dignity of the deceased the loftier his barrow. There is little doubt that there was but one prevailing motive in the whole system of the evolution of the grave from the hole in the earth, through the barrows, dolmens, cromlechs, and so on, to the elaborately constructed chambered cairn. The grave was considered as the temporary abode of the spirit, that was supposed to hover around the corpse till decomposition had been completed. This period constituted an intermediate state between life on earth and that of the spirit world.

It is generally thought that fire was known, even in those early days, as a purifying agent. Thus is explained the number of bodies partially burnt that have been found in remains predating the era of cremation. In course of time this idea gave place to that of the complete destruction of the body by fire in order to hasten the liberation of the soul from its fleshly entanglement.

In Egyptian entombments of the twelfth to the fourteenth dynasties "soul houses" were furnished with a couch and table for the use of the *ka*—the activities of sense and perception: an idea closely associated with the material body it embodied—where it came above ground to eat or drink. Furthermore, the *ba*, or disembodied soul, is represented as flying in and out

[1] Cf. The beakers and food vessels commonly found in Neolithic interments.

of the tomb and acquiring offerings of food which were put, in prehistoric times, round the body, and in later years in specially prepared store chambers built of brick.

The position of the corpse as laid in the grave is also a matter of no small importance in almost all races and tribes. Among primitive people the crouching position is usually chosen because this is the natural posture of rest during life, where chairs, bedsteads, etc., are unknown. The direction in which the body points varies with the position of the region in which their future will be spent. In the same barrows skeletons have been found differently orientated, the reason for the variations being by no means clear. The Watjobaluk tribe of Australia bury their dead with the head towards the point of the compass appropriate to each man's totem.[1] This arrangement is unique. The more general custom is that adopted by the Ngeumba of New South Wales, who bury with the head towards sunrise.[2] The Melanesians place the head of the corpse turned inland; [3] the Polynesians (Fijians and Samoans) towards the far west whither their souls have preceded them. The Christian Church has followed the custom of laying the dead looking to the east, because it is the attitude of prayer, and because at the last trump the soul is supposed to hurry eastwards. Christians never burned their dead, but followed from the first the Semitic practice of interment. That the corpses of the martyrs were often burned by their persecutors to render the resurrection of the body impossible is obvious from "Octavius," the dialogue of Minucius Felix, in which the writer refutes the assertion that cremation de resurrection an impossibility: "Nec, ut creditis ullum damnum sepulturæ timemus sed veterem et

[1] Howitt, p. 453. [2] Matthews, "New South Wales," p. 72.
[3] Codrington, "Melanesians," p. 254.

meliorem consuetudinem humandi frequentamus."[1] St. Ambrose made a curious mistake when he described what he thought to be skeletons of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, as stained with the blood of martyrdom—"Hic sanguis clamat coloris indicio." Solomon Reinach has rightly divined that St. Ambrose really hit on a prehistoric tomb of red earth, so chosen because demons flee from red!

Not only has the soul to be fed at regular intervals, but, in primitive culture, a feast invariably forms part of the funeral rites. Sometimes it is kept up for days or repeated at stated intervals. The Ainu mourners return to the hut pray, eat, drink and get helplessly intoxicated.[2] Among the Uriya of Orissa the feast occupies several days. The Nicobar Islanders hold a feast at the grave "in the presence of the dead," after the funeral.[3] The object of these feasts is not simply an act of hospitality to the invited guests, but a meal of communion with or in the dead, or a sacrificial feast on the flesh of the victims slain in atonement of the deceased's sins. Mr. E. S. Hartland sees in the common meal "the pledge and witness of the unity of the kin, the chief means, if not of making, at least of repairing and renewing it."[4] That the custom is not merely a social act is shown in the case of the Ainu practice of holding the first formal meal in the presence of the corpse. The fact that the dead man is thought to be present and taking part in the proceeding is well shown by Codrington. In various Melanesian islands the name of the dead is pronounced at the feast and the chief mourner throws aside some food for the deceased, saying, "This is for you."

The flesh provided at these banquets is sometimes

[1] "Patres Latini," iii., p. 362. [2] Batchelor, "Ainus," p. 559.
[3] "Intern. Archiv. für Ethnographie," vi., p. 25.
[4] "Legend of Perseus," ii., p. 278.

that of the dead man himself, as in the instances quoted by Howitt concerning the Dieri rites. The same is reported of the natives of North Queensland, and in many other parts of the world, though indisputable evidence for cannibal sacraments is by no means plentiful. The slaying and eating of animal victims at the grave is quite a common practice, as has been shown above. It may be, however, that the significance of this custom is not merely that the animals may accompany the dead man to the spirit world, but also that the survivors, by eating the flesh of the victim whose blood and soul the dead has consumed, may be sacramentally united to the deceased.

In higher religious systems the offering becomes a vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the departed, and thus anticipates the primitive Christian custom of celebrating the Eucharist on behalf of the faithful departed on the anniversary of martyrdom or death from any other cause.[1] It is perhaps worthy of note that there still survives in the Coptic Church the practice of offering expiatory sacrifices of animals for the dead. No doubt the custom goes back to pre-Christian time in Egypt, when the relatives of the dead brought food offerings for the *ka* of the deceased.

Professor Robertson Smith explains the mutilation of the body and garments of the living as constituting a bond of union between them and the dead.[2] It seems reasonable to suppose that by causing their blood to flow over the corpse or grave a "covenant in blood" is established. Conversely, other primitive people daub themselves with the blood, etc., of their dead kinsman, and thus incorporate in themselves a portion of the

[1] Tertullian, "De Cor.," iii.; "de Monog.," x. Cyprian, Epp. xii., xxxiii., xxxvi., 2.

[2] "Religion of the Semites," p. 336.

dead. For the same reason—viz., that of attaining a communion with the departed—bones, hands, locks of hair, etc., are retained by survivers.

Parallel with the rite of dropping blood on the corpse is another mourning rite—that of cutting or tearing the hair and burying it with the body, or dedicating it at the grave. In the case of the Unmatjera, Kaitish and Warramunga tribes the hair is burnt instead of dedicated. The object of these rites, as with the dropping of blood, is to form a bond of union with the dead, so as to prevent him from inflicting any harm on the survivors. It is quite possible that hair is thrown on the corpse for the same reason.

Among primitive people reverence for the dead is associated with superstitious fear of the return of the spirit, and with the idea of the ritual impurity of the corpse. To these conceptions is added a belief in a further life of the double or soul in the Alcheringa or spirit world. Many and various rites have grown up round these doctrines. Graves have been duly honoured and tombs—at least those of heroes, saints, and martyrs—have become altars on which sacrifices and consecrated food, accompanied by prayers, are offered on their behalf or in their honour. It is not without significance that a slab placed over the burial place of a martyr served in very early times as a Christian altar in the Roman catacombs and elsewhere. Furthermore, a bond of union was thought to be established between the living and the dead by a blood covenant, by the wearing or dedication of hair, bones, etc. Thus was anticipated the Christian doctrine of the communion of saints, wherein all the faithful, living and departed are united round a common Centre and in a common Fellowship.

The universality of funeral rites bear witness to an innate belief in the immortality of the soul; like modern

science they teach that the human organism, being composed of matter, is indestructible. Death brings change but not extinction. "We shall all be changed" but not destroyed, is the universal cry. At death even the bodies of men do not cease to be, but only cease to be what they were. They continue, but they "never continue in one stay."

Again, from earliest times it has been realized that man is not only body but spirit, and being spirit he can never rest satisfied in his material surroundings. At death he migrates to surroundings where he is acclimatized to his spiritual being. He is spirit and can permanently breathe only in a spiritual environment. Mr. Holman Hunt's picture of the "Triumph of the Innocents," in which he paints each child as still alive: each a spirit-child, one of a group of spirit-children, attendants on and serving the Christ-Child and His Mother, doing for them in their after life what shortness of days prevented their doing before, suggests how Christianity has uplifted and spiritualized the primitive conception of life beyond the grave.

CHAPTER VI

THE FOOD QUEST AND TOTEMISM

Public rites—Economic rites—The magical control of the chase—The Aurignacian and Magdalenian cave-paintings—Bushmen and Indian art—Intichiuma ceremonies—The Witchetty grub rites—The Urabunna ceremonies—The purpose of the spring rites.

IN considering the question of primitive marriage it was seen that the natural attraction of human beings for one another has led them to associate themselves together in families. The necessity of providing effective means of defence against enemies has compelled man to live together in a series of families constituting the clan or tribe. In such associations some form of organization arose as a matter of course. Customs and rules had to be devised whereby life and property were maintained and protected, the sexual relations regulated, and intercourse of man with the sacred world put on an ordered basis. It is with such matters as these that public rites are concerned, and therefore they assume, for the most part, a politico-economic character. To this aspect must be added the important class of rites that deal with sacrifice and communion.

The first need of man in all stages of culture is a suffi-

cient supply of food, The savage thinks that this is to be obtained either by the application of what he conceives to be natural laws, or by appeal to superhuman powers. Among economic ceremonies may be distinguished those that are "natural," and those in which a supernatural element enters, and those in which the two methods of procedure are combined.

Notwithstanding the fact that primitive people are usually skilled hunters—in Australia and Polynesia there is no tribe unable to secure food by natural means—yet supernatural or magical influence invariably is brought to bear on the chase. As far back as the Aurignacian stage of the Palæolithic period magical rites were apparently used for this purpose. The drawings of bisons, deer, and other Pleistocene animals discovered by the little daughter of Marcellino de Sautuola on the roof of a cave at Altamira in Spain are inexplicable except as a means whereby these ancient hunters could control the animals they were hunting. If the purpose of the paintings common at the end of the Aurignacian and during the whole of the Magdalenian culture periods were originally merely æsthetic, then they would not be likely to occur on the roof, and certainly not in the dark recesses of caverns, far removed from the light. M. Solomon Reinach points out that all the animals represented are such as are desirable for food.[1] Although his second statement, that "undesirable" animals are not depicted, is not correct, since a lion, a bear, and a wolf have been found on the walls of Combarelles, and a wolf at Font de Gaume, it by no means follows that these animals were not eaten by Palæolithic Man. There seems little doubt that the metaphorical "magic of the artist's pencil" had once a literal meaning.

Various tribes in America and Australia depict animal

[1] "L'Anthrop.," vii., pp. 221–223.

forms in obscure parts of caves. Mr. F. H. Cushing describes the images of totems carved out of stone by the Zuñi Indians, with a flint arrow bound to the "fetiche." [1] This no doubt corresponds to the arrows painted on the side of the bison in Font de Gaume. The image is set apart for magical purposes at the New Year Festival. Every hunter carries the "fetiche" with him in the chase. Likewise among the Ojibwa Indians the medicine man makes a drawing of the animal to be hunted, and paints the heart in vermilion, drawing a line from it to the mouth, along which the magic is supposed to pass at his incantation.[2] Again, the paintings of the Bushmen, which bear a striking resemblance to those of the Aurignacian age, were for sympathetic magic rather than for æsthetic purposes. In the sandstone caves of the Natal Downs the *Pegulloburra* tribe make drawings of the emu and kangaroo, and incidents of the chase, and impressions of the hand daubed with red.[3] From an artistic point of view these sketches are inferior to those of Palæolithic Man, and obviously belong to a different school from the Aurignacian, but, nevertheless, judging from similar decorations on Churinga, weapons and various objects used in sacred ceremonies, they must be magico-religious in intent.

The magical rites connected with hunting assume a relationship between man and beast. For this reason excuses are often made for killing an animal—especially if it be a totem—and it is implored to return that it may be again killed.[4] Formal prayer is sometimes made to an animal in important tribal ceremonies, as in

[1] "Bureau of American Ethnology," '08, pp. 9–43.

[2] Op. cit., vii., pp. 221–223.

[3] Curr, "Australian Race," ii., p. 476; cf. "Native Tribes," p. 614.

[4] Batchelor, "Ainu," pp. 485–496.

British Columbia when a boy is ordered by the chief to pray to the first salmon sighted for a good catch.[1] In New Guinea hunters are required to abstain from certain foods and to perform purificatory ceremonies ; [2] while, among the Nandi, certain men, who are antipathetic to the animals, are forbidden to hunt, or make traps, or dig for game.[3]

In central Australia every tribe is charged with the duty of procuring food for the tribe. The name *Intichiuma* is applied by the Arunta to certain sacred ceremonies whereby is secured the increase of the animal or plant which gives its name to the totem. When and how they arose is not known ; the natives have no traditions which deal with their origin. Each totem has its own ceremonies and no two of them are alike, though all have for their sole object the purpose of increasing the food supply of the tribe. Any member of the tribe can attend the ceremonies irrespective of class. The time is fixed by the Alatunja, but since they are concerned with the increase of the totem the time usually corresponds with the breeding or flowering season of the objects in question. When the ceremonies are to be performed at Alice Springs the men of the local group assemble and proceed, late in the afternoon, to Emily Gap, a place especially associated with the Alcheringa ancestors of the group. On its walls are the sacred drawings characteristic of the totem. The Alatunja, who is in the lead, carries a small *pitchi*, which is called *Apmara*, and all the others have in their hands little twigs of the Udniringa bush, on which the totem (the witchetty grub) feeds. When the party reaches the spot known as *Ilthura oknira*, placed high up on the western wall of the Gap, they gather round a

[1] Teit in " Jesup North Pacific Expedition," ii., p. 280.
[2] Seligmann, " Melanesians of British New Guinea," p. 291.
[3] Hollis, " Nandi," pp. 8, 24.

shallow cave, in which is a large block of quartzite, representing the *Maegwa* or adult animal. After each person has tapped the stone with his twigs the Alatunja takes up one of the *Churinga unchima*, or smaller stones which surround the *Maegwa*, saying, " Unga murna oknirra ulquinna " (You have eaten much food). Then, after carefully examining other sacred spots in the neighbourhood, they silently march in single file to the nearest *Ilthura* in the direction of Alice Springs. The Alatunja goes into the hole and scoops out any dirt he finds in it, and lays bare two stones—the larger called *Churinga uchaqua*, which represents the chrysalis stage of the totem animal; the smaller or *Churinga unchima* (the eggs). Songs referring to the *Uchaqua* are sung, and each man's stomach is hit with the stone, saying again, " You have eaten much food."

After visiting some of these *Ilthura*, and repeating the same ceremony at each, a start is made for the camp. Within a mile or so of the latter the party halt and decorate themselves with the *Ilkinia*, or sacred design of the totem, head-bands, the *Chilara*, hair-strings, nose-bones, bunches of feathers and twigs of the Udniringa bush. While they have been away an old man, left behind for the purpose, has built a long narrow wurley, called *Umbana*, which is extended to represent the chrysalis case from which the *Maegwa*, or fully-developed insect, emerges. Those who have not been taking part in the ceremony assemble behind the *Umbana*. Reaching this spot the performers enter the wurley, the men and women outside lie face downwards till they are told to arise. Those inside sing of the animal in its various stages, and of the *Alknalinta* stone, and the great *Maegwa* at its base. Then they slowly all shuffle out and back again. When all are once more in the wurley the singing ceases, food and water are brought to them by the old man who built the *Umbana*. This

is the first food and drink they have partaken of since they originally left the camp, fasting being one of the necessary conditions to the due performance of the rite.

When it is dusk they leave the wurley. A large fire is lighted, and around this they sit till daybreak, singing of the witchetty grub. The women of the right moiety meanwhile keep watch to see if the women of the other moiety continue to lie down. They also peer about, watching the Intichiuma party as the women did in the Alcheringa. Suddenly the singing ceases, the fire is quickly extinguished by the Alatunja, the men of the other moiety of the tribe spring to their feet and run away to the main camp. The Intichiuma party remains at the wurley till daylight, when the men strip themselves of their ornaments, throwing away their Udniringa twigs. The Alatunja then proclaims, "Our Intichiuma is finished, the *Mulyamuka* must have these things or else our Intichiuma would not be successful, and some harm would happen to us." They all reply, "Yes, yes, certainly." The ornaments are then handed over to the men of the other moiety. The *Ilkinia* and the painting on the face is obliterated by rubbing red ochre over the bodies of the performers, the men then put on their arm strings, etc., and return to their respective camps.[1]

Analogous rites are found in the tribes to the north and north-east of the Arunta, also among the Urabunna, but the Alatunja there does not partake of his own totem, but only gives permission to others to eat it. Similar ceremonies are probably practised in the north-west, though evidence at present is scanty.

Among the Urabunna, there is a rock which is supposed to represent an old jew lizard standing up in the act of throwing boomerangs. In order to secure an

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 170–179.

abundant production of lizards all that is necessary is to knock pieces of stone off the face of the rock and throw them about in various directions. At the same spot there is also a tree with a rough bark supposed to represent the skin of the lizard. This is stripped off and burnt to secure a supply of the animal.[1] In order to make kangaroos multiply, some kangaroo-dung is wrapped up in a grass called *pillinjirri*, of which the animal is very fond. This is then placed on the ground and set on fire, while the men, taking green bushes, light them at the fire and scatter the embers in all directions. These scattered embers are supposed to produce an abundant production of kangaroos.[2]

In a district like that of Central Australia the transition from winter to summer is marked by very heavy rains, and, in consequence, a luxuriant vegetation suddenly springs up, so that the "desert blossoms as the rose." The arid barren ground is not only carpeted with an abundant vegetation, but it also literally swarms with all kinds of moving creatures that have life—insects, birds, lizards, frogs, etc. Little wonder, then, that the native regards this season of fertility with awe and reverence, and seeks, by the performance of sacred rites, to co-operate with nature in making the animals and plants multiply. To this end the witchetty grub men wend their way along a certain path which tradition declares to have been traversed by the leader of the witchetty grubs in the Alcheringa, tap the stones representing the adult animal and its eggs, and subsequently erect the wurley symbolizing the chrysalis of a witchetty grub. Into this structure the men of the totem shuffle in and out to promote the birth of the grub. Or, again, the Urabunna scatter fragments of a sacred rock or the embers of kangaroo-dung in all directions

[1] "Northern Tribes," p. 288. [2] Op. cit., p. 312.

in order that there may be an abundant supply of the totem.

Complex and elaborate though some of these rites are, and uncertain in meaning as many of the details must be to the performers, their essential purpose is thus not difficult to discover. The immediate design is to provide man with his daily bread, though, as will be shown later, in what may be called the " harvest " ceremonies, it is something higher and more enduring than the bread that perisheth, that is sought by the men who, *after Intichiuma*, when the grub is plentiful, gather large supplies and solemnly eat a little of the sacred food. These ceremonies are not merely productive, for through them the very life of the sacred species is imbibed by the primitive worshippers, in what may be described as a rudimentary sacramental meal. But this is to anticipate. The spring rites cannot claim so lofty a motive for their performance. It is not that the Australian wishes to show his gratitude to the giver of all, that prompts him to repair to Emily Gap at the approach of summer. It is rather because he knows that his physical life depends on the supply of animals and plants that come forth after the torrential spring rains that he seeks to co-operate with nature by bringing all the forces at his command to bear on the great desire he utters and represents by his Intichiuma ceremonies.[1] He must eat that he may live and replenish the earth. It is this emotion that he expresses in the spring totemic rites.

[1] Cf. Miss Harrison, " Ancient Art and Ritual," chap. ii.

CHAPTER VII

RAIN-MAKING

Water totems in Central Australia—The Intichiuma—Rites connected with stones, animals, skeletons, etc.—Prayer and sacrifice for rain—The purpose of rain-making ceremonies.

A MODERN civilized community is chiefly dependent upon the weather for its incomings and outgoings, and for the variation in the prices of bread and vegetables, yet even so it is not easy for us to understand a condition of life in which a bad harvest means starvation. But in primitive society, where the food-supply is governed directly by the rainfall, the attitude of man towards the weather is intensely practical. It is therefore not to be wondered at that, in countries where the rain is scarce, magico-religious ceremonies should be resorted to,so as to regulate the supply. So important is this aspect of primitive cult that a special class of magicians, and in some cases a particular totem, is set apart for the due performance of rain-making ceremonies. Like the rites held in the spring in connexion with the multiplication of the totems, the ceremonies in the latter case are of the nature of an Intichiuma, and are only shared in by initiated men of the water totem, the majority of whom belong to the Purula and Kumara among the Arunta. To them the secret of rain-making was imported in the Alcheringa by an individual named Irtchwoanga, who also settled the exact places at which the ceremonies should

be held. One of the most important of the water totem groups is a local subdivision of the Arunta, inhabiting a district about fifty miles to the east of Alice Springs, called by the natives the Rain Country (*Kartwia quatcha*).

When the "Chantchwa," or leader of this group, is about to hold a rain-making ceremony he sends out messengers (*Inwurra*) to the neighbouring groups to inform them of his intention, and to call together the members of the totem. When all are assembled, the men march into camp, decorate themselves, sit down in a line and sing. They then file out of the camp, and scatter in search of game, which is cooked and eaten, but no water may be drunk. When they have eaten they again paint themselves, this time broad bands of down being fixed on, as usual with human blood, so that they encircle the stomach, legs, arms and forehead. Meanwhile some of the older men have been erecting a bough wurley, called *nalyilta*, near the main camp. The floor of the hut is strewn with a thick layer of gum leaves to make it as soft as possible. When the decorating is complete the men march back at sunset silently and in single file to where the wurley has been built. On reaching the spot the young men enter first and lie face downwards at the inner end, where they remain till the ceremony is over. Meanwhile, the older men decorate the Chantchwa, who then takes up a position near to the opening into the wurley. The old men sit round him and sing for some time.

When the singing is over the Chantchwa walks slowly twice up and down a trench extending for thirty yards from the wurley, quivering his body and legs in a most extraordinary manner. While this is taking place the young men arise and join the old men. A song is sung and the Chantchwa regulates his movements accordingly. When he re-enters the wurley the young men at once

lie down again. The same performance is repeated at intervals during the night, the singing continuing practically all the time. At daybreak the Chantchwa executes a final quiver, and, thoroughly exhausted, declares the ceremony at an end. The young men jump to their feet and rush out of the wurley, screaming in imitation of the spur-winged plover. As soon as the cry is heard in the main camp, it is taken up by the men and women who have remained behind there. The decorations of the Chantchwa are removed, and all follow him to a spot just within sight of the main camp, where a clearing has been made by an old woman. Here they lie down and later go to the main camp where food and water await them. The whole performance lasts about forty-eight hours. On the next night an ordinary rain dance is held by the men. The women look on and assist with the singing.[1]

Sir James Frazer thinks that the rites imitate a rising storm.[2] The wurley, he imagines, stands for the vault of heaven, from which the rain-clouds, represented by the chief actor strutting across the trench, come forth to move across the sky. The other performers imitate birds that are supposed to be harbingers of rain.

The Kaitish tribe has also a water totem. When the headman decides to hold an Intichiuma ceremony to make rain, he goes to a place called Anira, where, in the Alcheringa, old men sat down and drew water from their whiskers, the latter being now represented by stones out of which the rainbow arose. First of all he paints the stones with red ochre, and three rainbows, one on the ground, one on his body, and one on a shield, which he also decorates with zigzag lines of white pipe-clay to represent lightning. After singing over the stones, and pouring water from a vessel on

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 189–193.
[2] "Golden Bough," Pt. I, pp. 26 ff.

them and on himself, he returns to the camp, taking with him the shield which must only be seen by the men of the same moiety of the tribe as himself, lest the rites be rendered of no avail. The shield is hidden away in his camp until sufficient rain has fallen, after which it is brought forth and the rainbow rubbed out. A vessel containing water is kept by the side of the rain-maker, into which he throws pieces of down from time to time to represent clouds. The wife of the leader is obliged to absent herself from the camp for the time being, and on her return imitates the sound of the plover, a bird the characteristic note of which is always associated with rain in these parts. If rain follows the natives attribute it to the performance of the ceremony, but, if it does not, it simply means that some one else has prevented it by superior magic.[1]

The Tjingilli, to the north of the Arunta, have a curious ceremony concerned with rain-making, apart from the ordinary Intichiuma. A fat bandicoot is caught by one of the *Liaritji* (i.e. men belonging to a special moiety of the tribe), care being taken not to injure it. The man then wraps it up in paper-bark and carries it about in a *pitchi*, singing over it until such time as it becomes very thin and weak. Then he lets it go, and the rain is supposed to follow.[2] Messrs. Spencer and Gillen could find no explanation of the relationship between the bandicoot and rain.

In the Anula tribe of Northern Australia rain-making is specially associated with one particular spot called Upintjara, where is a water-hole in the bed of a creek. The dollar-bird, commonly known as the rain-bird, is connected with the rainy season. A man of the Mumbakiaku totem can make rain by catching a snake and putting it alive into the water-hole. After holding it

[1] "Northern Tribes," pp. 294–296. [2] "Native Tribes," p. 311.

under water for a time, he takes it out, kills it, and lies down by the side of the creek. Then, in imitation of a rainbow, he makes an arched bundle of grass stalks and sets it up over the snake. After that, all he does is to sing over the snake and the imitation rainbow, and sooner or later the rain will fall.[1]

Certain animals intimately associated with water, such as frogs, toads, etc., are regarded as custodians of rain in many parts of the world. In some cases the animal must be black, the colour being typical of the appearance of the desired rain-clouds. Conversely, if fine weather is needed, the animal must be of a spotless white.[2]

Other ceremonies resorted to in order to produce a downfall of rain consist in placing in water stones, representing the abode of a spirit or rain-god,[3] sprinkling and squirting water in a particular manner,[4] pouring water on a skeleton,[5] or on the grave of an ancestral rain-maker,[6] swinging the bull-roarer to make thunder and wind,[7] both harbingers of rain, and performing a sacred dance for several nights in order to induce the gods to let the rain fall.[8] Prayers for rain are frequent in primitive society. Thus, the only actual instance of prayers being offered to supernatural beings in Australia is in connexion with rain-making. In the Dieri country the sky in which the *Mura-muras*—the predecessors and prototypes of the blacks—live is supposed to be a vast plain inhabited by wild tribes. In times

[1] "Northern Tribes," p. 314.
[2] "Golden Bough," Pt. I, pp. 290 ff.
[3] Turner, "Samoa," p. 45.
[4] "Native Tribes," pp. 394 ff.
[5] "Samoa," p. 345 f.
[6] D. Kidd, "Essential Kaffir," p. 115.
[7] Op. cit., p. 115.
[8] "Unknown Mexico," pp. 330 ff.; cf. the Author's article, "Rain," in "Encyl. Rel. and Ethics."

of drought the Dieri call upon these supernatural beings to give them power to make rain, crying out in loud voices about the impoverished state of the land, and the half-starved condition of the tribe.[1] Similar invocations are made by the Masai, the Nandi and other African tribes. Closely related to prayers for rain is the offering of sacrifices in order to make the refreshing showers fall. The Akikuyu sacrifice sheep and goats beneath the sacred *mugomo* tree by way of intercession for rain. The whole of the meat is left under the tree, the fat being placed in a cleft of the trunk or in the branches, as special titbits for *Ngai*, the good god who sends rain, riches, thunder and lightning.[2]

Frazer is of the opinion that rain-making ceremonies are performed to produce rain by imitating it.[3] Now, there can be no doubt that many of the rites associated with rain-making imitate the natural process. Thus, for example, when the Dieri erect a hut over a hole in the ground and drop blood on the men sitting round, while others throw handfuls of down in the air, they symbolically represent the natural phenomena connected with rainfall. The hut portrays the firmament, the down the cirrus clouds, the dropping blood the rain. Two large stones are placed in the centre of the structure to represent the gathering clouds presaging rain, and the overthrow of the hut by men butting at it with their heads, the piercing of the clouds and the downpour of rain. The ceremony is supposed to be seen by the *Mura-muras*, and as a result they cause the clouds to appear in the sky, unless they are angry with the people. Such a rite as this certainly contains an element of imitation, but only because the savage is a man of action, who "dances out his religion." When he wants wind

[1] Howitt, p. 394.
[2] "J. A. I.," xxxiv., p. 263.
[3] "Golden Bough," Pt. I, p. 247.

or rain he does not, in the lower culture, prostrate himself before his remote All-Father, but gathers certain people together, often members of a water totem, to perform magico-religious rites. Thus, he expresses by actions, sometimes accompanied by suitable exclamations, his inmost desires. He wills to live, and because in Central Australia the advent of rain means fertility and a plentiful supply of the necessities of life, he therefore utters and represents symbolically the emotions that are stirred within him, believing that by so doing he assists the powers that control the weather. Thus rain-making ceremonies, like other rites that govern the food-supply, are outward signs of an inward emotion, rather than pieces of frivolous and valueless mimicry.

CHAPTER VIII

CONDUCT OF WAR

Savage methods of warfare—The blood-feud,—the " Atninga " party—Tabus on warriors and their relatives—Purificatory rites—The sympathetic bond.

AMONG aboriginal people such as the Australians there is hardly anything corresponding to a state of war, where armed parties go into battle with the intention to kill as many of the enemy as possible. Killing by magic or violence, stealing another man's goods, a quarrel about a woman, an elopement, and so on, usually lead to a fight between the two interested parties. When a man sickens in a tribe his friends invariably conclude that he is the victim of evil magic. Some unfortunate individual is selected as the cause of the plague, and brought before the sick man, to exonerate himself if he can. The former is provided with a club or a shield ; if the person who presents himself is considered innocent, he strikes the shield of the accused with his club, and the accused returns the blow lightly and retires. If he is pronounced guilty, a young man is selected to meet him in combat, the conflict usually continuing till blood is drawn, or one or the other gets his head broken. There the matter ends.

The actual mode of fighting consists in one man pounding away with his club at the other, who defends

himself with his shield. When the former is tired the latter sets to work with his club, in the same manner. This goes on till one or the other succumbs. Sometimes, however, the friends of the conflicting parties get restive and interfere, in which case the fight becomes more serious and leads to a general quarrel between the two local groups. This is often the case in quarrels arising out of elopements, and similar grievances, or when a blood feud has to be atoned for. In the latter case the whole totem class of the aggressor meets the whole totem class of the victim ; champions are selected to represent each side, as usual, and the rest of the men are spectators.[1] Or else the aggrieved party arrange to make an attack upon the men who are regarded as the offenders. The attackers, armed with spear and spear-thrower, boomerangs and shields, march up to the enemies' camp, and either a battle ensues, lasting for several hours, or else the Atninga, as the avenging party is called in Australia, will lie in ambush and await an opportunity of spearing one or two of the men without risk to themselves.

When a tribe is threatened by the advance of an Atninga party it is usual to send women over to the enemies' camp with a view to conciliating the Atninga men. If they accept the favour, it is understood that the quarrel will not be pursued further; if they refuse the offer, their mission is known to be unfriendly. A council is sometimes held to consider terms of agreement, and arrangement short of actual warfare is often arrived at. Thus, for example, several members of the offending tribe who have been troublesome and in various ways offensive, may be handed over to the enemy as a ransom. Even when a great battle does take place between two tribes it is not a brutal, savage, blood-thirsty fray, but generally a well-devised set-to between the fighting

[1] Frazer, "Aboriginals of New South Wales," p. 41.

men of each side. Jumping, dancing, spear-throwing, yelling and screaming are all part of the conflict, but happily few deaths ensue. The wounded are well cared for at the conclusion, and the animosity ceases as soon as the fight is over. Not infrequently a dance, in which both parties take part, brings the day's work to an amicable close.

War, according to savage philosophy, is a "holy function," and therefore renders those who take part in it liable to spiritual danger.[1] Thus, a number of tabus and similar rites have gathered round the warrior. The vessels he uses are sacred, continence and personal cleanliness must be observed, care must be taken lest the enemy should get hold of anything by which they might work magic against them.[2] Like the Israelites the natives of New South Wales believe that if the enemy discovered their excrement they would burn it in the fire and thus ensure their collective destruction, or that individually they would pine away and die. The tribes in the western district of Victoria, with the superstitious cleanliness so characetristic of the Australian natives, are careful to bury all excrement at a distance from the camp, and in such a manner as to conceal its whereabouts from a possible enemy.[3] Should he discover the hiding-place, he might obtain possession of a piece of the excrement and keep it till it decayed. The enemy would, of course, be waning to a corresponding extent. Dr. Codrington shows that similar beliefs exist among the Melanesians.[4]

Among some Indian tribes of North America the natives hang upon trees the vessels out of which the warriors eat their food, to prevent their sanctity or

[1] Cf. "Religion of Semites," p. 455.
[2] Deut. xxiii. 9–14; Sam. xxi. 5.
[3] Dawkins, "Australian Aborigines," p. 12.
[4] "Melanesians," pp. 203, 204.

defilement from being communicated with disastrous results to their friends. The Nootka Indians wash themselves thoroughly from head to foot before they go to war, scrubbing themselves with briars and saying, " Good or great God let me live, not be sick, find the enemy, not fear him, find him asleep, and kill a great many of them." For a week they abstain from all sensual pleasure, merriment and feasting; the last few days being spent, for the most part, in ablutions. While on their expeditions they are not allowed to lean against a tree, nor lie by or kill bears and deer on their journey.[1]

So potent is blood tabu that in primitive society the warrior who has slain his foe in battle is as " dangerous " as a pregnant woman. He may touch nobody, not even his wife, nor go near the rest of the tribe, till he has performed the necessary purificatory rites. Meanwhile the women beat drums, and shout to drive away the spirits of the victims. Even the weapons are often subjected to ceremonial " cleansing." [2] In Africa the ox figures largely in the purification rites. The body of the manslayer is often smeared with the contents of the stomach of the animal, or made to force himself through a hole that has been made with a spear through the middle of the carcase. The Bechuanas, after a battle, shave the heads of the warriors to remove any pollution that might be clinging to them.[3]

The Arunta think that the spirit of a man slain in battle or its equivalent follows an Atninga party as a little bird called the *Chichurkna,* and is constantly on the look out to injure the manslayers. If any of the party should fail to hear its cry he would become paralysed in his right arm and shoulder. At night, when the bird is flying over the camp, the men have to lie

[1] " Golden Bough," Pt. III, pp. 157–165.
[2] E. Casalis, " The Basutos," p. 258.
[3] " Golden Bough," Pt. III. p. 165.

awake and keep the right arm and shoulder carefully concealed, lest the bird should look down and injure them. When they hear its cry they are satisfied since they know that the *Ulthana* (the ghost) recognizes that he is detected, and is powerless. On their return to the camp, after decorating themselves, they begin a war-dance, holding and moving their shields as if to ward off something which was being thrown at them. This action is intended to beat off the spirit of the dead man. The *Immirinja* men—the name given to those who actually do the avenging—then separate out, and a number of old women strike their shields with a club. They are followed by the men who did not go on the expedition. These use boomerangs instead of clubs to strike the shields. If the sound produced by the blows is hollow it is regarded as a sign that the owner of the shield will not live long ; if, on the other hand, the sound is firm and strong, then he is safe.

After the shield striking is over the women and children return to the camp, and the Atninga party march to the corrobboree ground, the *Immirinja* men remaining silent for several days. The shields of each of the manslayers are again struck, and the men continue to paint themselves with charcoal. Finally they decorate their bodies and faces with bright colours, and become free to talk about the affair, although they must still be careful to hear the cry of the *Chichurkna*, at night.[1]

Not only are the fortunes of war affected by the due observation of certain tabus and ceremonies on the part of the warriors, but their relations at home, being *en rapport* with them, have it in their power to turn the sympathetic bond to the utmost account for the benefit of those fighting far away. Hence, when a Dyak is out head-hunting his wife has to wear a sword day and night in order that he may always be thinking of his weapons ;

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 493–496.

and she may not sleep during the day, nor go to bed before two o'clock in the morning, lest her husband should be surprised by the enemy. Fires are kept up till late at night in order that the men may not be cold. The roofing of the house is opened before daylight to prevent the warrior from sleeping too late.[1] Among the sea Dyaks of Banting in Sarawak at every meal a little rice must be left in the pot and put aside, to prevent the men from being hungry. The wife is obliged to keep her joints supple by taking frequent exercise, so as not to impede her husband's progress should he have to beat a hasty retreat. If a woman were to sew with a needle, the men would be likely to tread on the sharp spikes set by the enemy.[2]

Among the Tshi-speaking people of the Gold Coast the wives of the fighting men paint themselves white and adorn their persons with beads and charms. On the day when the battle is expected to take place they run about armed with guns or sticks resembling guns, and hack paw-paws (melon-like fruits) with their knives, in imitation of the process of removing from its shoulders the head of an enemy.[3] Dr. Frazer, quoting from Mr. Fitzgerald Marriott, describes a dance that took place in Framin during the Ashantee war. " The women whose husbands had gone to the war were painted white and wore nothing but a short petticoat. At their head was a shrivelled old sorceress in a very short white petticoat, her black hair arranged in a sort of long projecting horn, and her black face, breasts, arms and legs profusely adorned with white circles and crescents. All carried long white bushes made of buffalo or horse tails, and as they danced they sang, ' Our husbands have gone to Ashanteeland ; may they sweep their enemies off the face of the earth.' " [4]

[1] Op. cit., Pt. I, p. 127. [2] "Man," viii., '08, p. 186.
[3] " Tshi-speaking Peoples," p. 226.
[4] " Golden Bough," iii., Pt. I. p. 132.

Among some of the Bantu tribes when the chief resolves to make war on a distant enemy, he and the older men of the tribe pray daily for victory to the spirits of the dead kings. The day before the army sets forth the great war-drum is sounded and the warriors mobilize. In the evening the chief and the elderly women, the latter acting as representatives of the wives of the dead kings, assemble at the shrines of the ancestral chiefs. While the king prays to be led straight to the enemies' stockade the women beat their breasts. On the next morning the whole army is marshalled in front of the ghost-huts of the dead kings. The chief dances a war-dance, while his wife sprinkles him with holy flour, and all prostrate themselves in supplication before the shrines.[1]

[1] "Golden Bough," Pt. VI, p. 192.

CHAPTER IX

SACRIFICE AND COMMUNION

Theories of the origin of sacrifice—Cain and Abel—The Gift theory—Totemic origin (Jevons, Robertson Smith, Frazer)—M. Marillier's view—The theories of MM. Hubert and Mauss—Frazer's view in "Totemism and Exogamy"—Rudimentary conceptions of sacrifice in Australia—The Blood Covenant—First-fruit offerings—The Aztec rites—Sacrifice in Egyptian cult and in the Hellenic Mysteries of the Orphic—Dionysos and Attis-Cybele—Mithraic sacramental rites—The Christian Eucharist.

SACRIFICE is essentially a religious act of worship that takes the form of rendering to the deity, or to some sacred object, a material oblation, which is usually consumed in his service. The object of sacrifice, in the intention of the worshippers, is typically to secure union with the deity. This communion with a divine being is the end generally contemplated in sacrificial rites, in all stages of culture.

The origin of sacrifice has for some years been sought in a natural human custom rather than in an institution of Divine appointment. The latter view rests on Genesis iv. 3–5 and Hebrews xii. 4, wherein it appears that Divine sanction permitted Abel's offering, and considered it, by faith, more acceptable than that of Cain. That Yahweh should show preference for blood offerings is in accordance with Hebrew ritual, in which the oblation of blood is considered to be more efficacious, but it is contrary to the generally accepted view

that the bloodless sacrifice was the loftier conception. In fact the ἄπυραίερα—"offerings without fire"—were regarded by Greek philosophers of the fifth century, such as Porphyry, who had a vegetation theory to maintain, as the older form of sacrifice, coming down from the time of man's innocency. Which of the two kinds may be believed the earlier is a question to be discussed in another connexion.

The story of the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, it is argued, suggests a Divine origin for the rite, because faith necessarily implies that there must have been a previous revelation concerning the ordinance. Without such it would be superstition rather than faith. Furthermore, it has been pointed out by Protestant commentators that St. Paul condemns will-worship (ἐθελοθρησκεία Col. ii. 23), and therefore it would have been unlawful for sacrifice to be offered unless directly ordained by God. But as this theory was directed against the claim of the Catholic Church to decree rites and festivals not expressly ordained in Scripture, it is hardly worth considering as a serious argument in favour of the Divine institution of sacrifice.

As a matter of actual fact the J narrative treats sacrifice as a natural institution; an instinctive mode of worship; while the P creation document ignores the existence of the rite altogether. Some have tried to read into the clothing of Adam and Eve with "coats of skins" after their banishment from the garden the authorization by Yahweh of sin-offerings. But this reasoning is precarious. The circumstances of the case are all against such an interpretation. While Adam and Eve were in the garden communion with God is represented as uninterrupted and therefore sacrifice would be unnecessary. It is far more reasonable to regard Genesis iii. 21 as a fanciful explanation of the origin of clothing than as the beginning of sacrifice.

In conclusion it may be said that the Divine origin of the institution stands or falls with the theory of a primitive revelation, and since there are but few, if any, theologians who have not abandoned the view that a special revelation was vouchsafed to the Hebrews alone, the grounds for seeking the Divine origin of sacrifice are uncertain. Now that a healthier and juster view is being taken of the revelation of God to man, the Divine origin of religious institutions is sought not in books, but in the minds of men. It is in the " fleshly tables of the heart " that the Most Highest is pleased to dwell, speaking in the worthier manifestations of the " nature " that He has made, till, in the fulness of time, when man's mind was ready, He substituted a final for a progressive revelation, in the Incarnate Logos. Thus, the rites of " natural " religions are but the means adopted by God to educate the world for the Divine revelation in Christ. Nowhere is this fact more clearly illustrated than in the evolution of sacrifice—the most important rite in the history of religion. By its means, in some form or other, men everywhere have sought to establish, renew and maintain communion with the sacred and Divine world. Such communion is the essential function of religion, and the means, whereby men have sought it, are of the utmost importance to the student of religion at any period of its history. It is not surprising that the rite has called forth, in recent years, elaborate anthropological research, as well as much thoughtful discussion by theologians.

Early Christian writers make no attempt to explain the origin of the custom, nor was any such attempt made by the European philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. It was not until the spirit of historical inquiry had entered the sphere of religious investigation, in the second half of the last century, that scientific theories as to the beginning and signifi-

cance of sacrifice, were put forth by anthropologists.

According to Professor Tylor, sacrifice was originally a gift offered to supernatural beings to secure their favour or minimize their hostility. Gradually this purpose became transformed, in the mind of the sacrificers, into the homage theory, which again passed into the renunciation theory. Herbert Spencer is of much the same opinion. "The origin of the practice," he says, "is to be found in the custom of leaving food and drink at the graves of the dead, and as the ancestral spirit rose to divine rank the refreshments placed for the dead developed into sacrifices." [1]

The conception of sacrifice as a gift to the deity is very widespread. In Greece the word for "gift" is used for offering in Homer and onwards. The Hebrew term for sacrifice ("*minha*") has the same sense; it is used for both bloody and unbloody offerings, though from the time of Ezekiel (sixth century B.C.) onwards it became a technical term for cereal offerings (Gen. iv. 3, 4 verse; Lev. ii.).

This theory of sacrifice is criticized by Dr. Jevons as being of comparatively late application, dating back only to the time when the idea of "property" had come to play a leading part in religion, and religion had consequently resolved itself into the art of giving something in order to get more in return: a system ridiculed by Lucian, denounced by the Psalmist, and exposed in the "Euthyphro." Jevons, by way of a counterblast, maintains that the earliest offerings were means whereby the worshipper was placed in physical contact and permanent union with his god. "The core of worship is communion; offerings in the sense of gifts are comparatively modern institutions both in ancestor-worship and in the worship of the gods; as ancestor-worship is

[1] "Principles of Sociology," i., pp. 139 ff.

later than, and modelled on, the worship of the gods."[1]

In his paper on "Animal worship" in the Journal of Philology[2] Professor Robertson Smith discusses the question of Totemism and makes it the basis of sacrifice. Among the early Arabs he finds three marks by which totemism may be recognized: (1) The existence of stock names after "an animal or plant or, more rarely, a more natural object." In early times he believes the tribesmen generally bore on their bodies a mark of their totem. In this way he explains the custom of artificial deformation practised by them. (2) The ascription to the totem of a sacred character, accounts for its veneration. For the same reason a totem is only eaten on solemn occasions, by way of a sacrament. (3) The prevalence of the conception that the members of the stock are of one and the same blood as the totem, or sprung from a plant of the species chosen as the totem. He concludes that totemism must have been practised in early Arabia.

In 1889 (two years after Frazer's encyclopædia article on totemism had appeared) he published the well-known lectures on "The Religion of the Semites," in which he is very cautious in his application of a totemic basis to Semitic religion. "It is," he says, "one thing to say that the phenomena of Semitic religion carry us back to totemism, and another thing to say that they are all explained from totemism."[3] Nevertheless he thinks that the conclusion that the Semites did not pass through a totemic stage can only be avoided by supposing them to be an exception to the universal rule. In these lectures he develops his theory of the "theanthropic" animal, at once god and kinsman, as the originating cause of sacrifice of the communal type.[4] He considers Frazer to have proved the existence of

[1] "Introduction to the History of Religion," pp. 223–225.
[2] Vol. ix, p. 217.
[3] P. 139. [4] P. 409.

totemic sacraments involving actual communion in the flesh and blood of the sacred animal.

This view distinguishes (1) honorific, (2) piacular, and (3) mystical or sacramental offerings. His leading conception is the distinction between the view of sacrifice as a gift to the deity—the worshippers laying upon the altar the offerings of the first-fruits of the harvest as a tribute to the god, and the view that regards it as a sacramental ritualistic act whereby the worshipper passes into actual communion with the godhead by partaking of food and drink in which the Deity is immanent. Professor Robertson Smith, however, appears to confuse, in "The Religion of the Semites," the two aspects of sacrificial communion—the mystic and the non-mystic. The alliance of man with the divinity through sharing in a common meal, or in any other non-mystic manner, is by no means the same thing as sacramental communion in the truly mystic sense, wherein the deity and man enter into vital relationship by the latter partaking of divine food.

As evidence that the effective thing in sacrifice is the sharing of sacred flesh and blood, he adduces numerous examples (such as the shedding of a man's own blood and the offering of his hair) in which there is no death of a victim, and no idea of penal satisfaction of the deity. In the Hebrew ritual he lays special stress on the common clan-sacrifice (the "zebah") in which a part of the victim is given to the god and a part is consumed by the worshipper. This he contrasts with the offerings which are given wholly to the god, and, leaving aside piacular and holocausts, this distinction he makes correspond to that between animal and vegetable offerings, the latter, he holds, being originally not conciliatory. Thus, he concludes, the expiatory power lies in the sharing of animal flesh.

Here he is confronted by the holocaust and the piacu-

lum, expiatory sacrifices in which there is no communal eating. To avoid this difficulty Professor Robertson Smith suggests that these aspects are later developments consequent on the decreasing belief in kinship with animals. Thus, sacrificial meals became merely occasions of feastings, and, with the establishment of monarchies, sacrifices came to be regarded as gifts, the victim being wholly burnt (holocaust), or otherwise disposed of (piaculum).

In "The Religion of the Semites," (2nd Ed., '94) he restated his theory to overcome the difficulty resulting from his view that the god became identified with the kin by the blood-bond—a custom he regarded as relatively late. On the new hypothesis he regarded the god, the victim and the totemic group as the same kin. The original totem is female and therefore descent "follows the distaff" in primitive society. With the introduction of patrilineal descent the totem became male. Sacrifice in the first instance is, he thinks, a communion established by a bond of kinship. With the decline of totemism human sacrifice became the piaculum by which the union, when broken, was re-established.

Dr. Jevons adopts the same line, starting from the assumption that a totemic system was the earliest form of society.[1] He supposes totemism to have originated in a covenant or alliance between a human society and what the savage conceives as an animal clan, organized on the same line as his own. "At this stage," he says, "man imagines all things animate or inanimate to think, act, and feel like himself." This is certainly taking too much for granted. The savage only attributes animation to things that seem to him to act peculiarly or that present a strange or uncanny appearance. He realizes that some things are not alive. Jevons then argues that since savages take up a blood feud against

[1] "Introduction to History of Religion," pp. 101 ff.

an animal species, therefore they may establish an alliance with them. He, however, by no means clearly describes how the alliance became a flesh and blood union. The blood covenant established, the rite of sacrifice and the subsequent communion he supposes, was the natural corollary of the savage principle, that the blood is the life.

Many anthropologists are unable to regard the theory of totemic sacrifice as primitive. M. L. Marillier argues that an original bond of union between the god and the kin eliminates the need for sacrificial rites, and therefore makes initiation ceremonies superfluous. On the other hand, if the common meal was the only bond between the god and the kin, it does not appear that the god is a totem. MM. Hubert and Mauss think that the evidence of Semitic types of sacrifice may be only fragmentary, and in any case there is no proof that they are primitive. They hold that the numerous forms of sacrifice cannot be reduced to the unity of a single arbitrarily chosen principle." [1] In view of the paucity of accurate accounts of early ritual they reject the "genealogical" or evolutionary method, and devote themselves to an analysis of the ancient Hindu and Hebrew sacrificial ritual. Thus they arrive at the conclusion that "sacrifice is a religious act, which by the consecration of a victim, modifies the state of the moral person who performs it, or of certain objects in which this person is interested." [2] But, like Robertson Smith, they think that sacrifice establishes a union between the human and the divine. This is effected by the intermediation of a victim destroyed in the rite, and eaten by the worshippers or by the priests. But the victim must be ceremonially prepared for the rite, and freed from tabu after the ceremony has been performed. It must be remembered, however, that the rituals chosen by

[1] "L'Année Sociologique," II. [2] Op. cit.

MM. Hubert and Mauss for analysis are by no means primitive, and therefore can hardly be said to fairly represent the essential nature of sacrifice in the earliest cults of undeveloped peoples.

Dr. Frazer thought that Robertson Smith's Encyclopædia, article "Sacrifice," was a new departure in the history of religion. He says in the preface of the first Edition of "The Golden Bough" that the central idea of his essay—"The conception of the slain god"—is derived directly from his friend's Robertson Smith. In the second Edition, however, he says in the preface, "I never assented to my friend's theory, and so far as I can remember, he never gave a hint that he assented to mine." Frazer, in further investigating totemism in the production of his work "Totemism and Exogamy," was laying more stress on the social side of totemism, whereas Robertson Smith emphasized its religious aspect. His "slain god" too was a vegetation spirit which he found difficult to relate to a blood sacrifice. To follow Robertson Smith meant destroying his newly formulated stratification theory of the distinction between religion and magic. There could not, on his hypothesis, be sacramentalism, which was in any way religious, in an age of magic. Therefore sacramental communion to him is simply a magical rite. It is difficult to understand how he reconciles this view with the fact that, in what is admittedly the highest and purest form of religion the world has ever known, sacramental union with the Divine is the essential feature. All other forms of communion with the Deity are like the unsatisfying manna eaten in the wilderness: mere types and anticipations of "the Bread that came down from heaven," as the Incarnate Deity, "to give life to the world." [1]

To avoid the difficulty of not deriving the slain god

[1] Cf. Marett in "Edinburgh Review," 1915.

from the sacrifice of totemic animals, or from any operation of vegetation magic, Frazer makes the slaying of the king the origin of the rite. But if the slain god is to be identified with the slain king, the king must first be proved divine. He argues that since kings and chiefs are tabu therefore they must be sacred, in the sense that they are possessed by a god or a spirit. The numerous examples quoted do not, however, cover the whole field of primitive religion. Furthermore, by his own definition of tabu as negative magic,[1] he divides sacred things into two classes—those that are divine and those that are not divine—and therefore disproves his own theory.

One cannot but express surprise that so great an anthropologist as Sir James should abandon his original theory at the moment when most remarkable evidence in favour of the mystical union between the totem or "theanthropic" animal, and the totemite was forthcoming from Australia on the authority of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen.

They observe that "a man will only eat very sparingly of his totem, and even if he does eat a little of it, which is allowable to him, he is careful, in the case, for example, of an emu man, not to eat the best part, such as the fat." In a note on this passage the authors add, "the people of the emu totem very rarely eat the eggs, unless very hungry and very short of food, in which case they would eat, but not too abundantly. If an emu man found a nest of eggs, and was very hungry, he might cook one, but he would take the remainder to his camp and distribute them. If he were not very hungry all the eggs would be distributed. The flesh of the bird may be eaten sparingly, but only a very little of the fat; the eggs and fat are more *ekiringa* or tabu than the meat. The same principle holds good through all the totems,

[1] "Golden Bough," iii., Pt. I, p. 111.

a carpet snake man will eat sparingly of a poor snake, but he will scarcely touch the reptile if it be fat." [1]

The totem of any man is regarded in Central Australia as the same thing as himself. Thus, the members of the witchetty grub totem do not eat it, or at least only sparingly themselves, the members of the local group, who do not belong to the totem, must not eat it out of the camp like ordinary food, but must bring it into camp and eat it there, else the men of the totem would be angry and the supply of grubs would fail. Each totemic group therefore has direct control over the numbers of the totem animals or plants, and they have the first right to it. Therefore, in Australia, when the time of year arrives at which certain foods become fit for eating, a ceremony has to be performed before the food may be eaten freely. A ceremonial eating or sacramental meal has to take place. In the witchetty grub totem, for instance, when, *after Intichiuma* (i.e. at the period analogous to harvest time among agricultural people) the grub is plentiful, large supplies are gathered which are brought into camp, cooked and stored away in *pitchis*. In due course they are taken to the men's camp, where all the men assemble. The Alatunja grinds up the contents of the *pitchi* between stones. Then he and the other men of the totem eat a little and distribute what remains to those who do not belong to the totem. He repeats the operation with a *pitchi* from his own store. The witchetty grub totem may then eat sparingly of the grub.[2]

Now, what is the purpose of this ceremony and what is the connexion between this solemn eating by the Alatunja and the ceremonial eating of the first-fruits elsewhere? Frazer would, of course, say that the Australian rite is pure magic—religious it cannot be, for, on his hypothesis, the Australians know no religion

[1] "Native Tribes," p. 202. [2] "Native Tribes," p. 203.

and have no gods. But if the rite is simply a magical means of increasing the food supply why is it performed at harvest-time? The spring Intichiuma rites, which have been previously described, are quite different from those connected with the annual eating of the totem animal or plant. The latter can only be compared with the sacramental eating of the new corn as the body of the corn-spirit, in agricultural communities. Now, if Frazer regards the harvest customs of ancient Mexico and Peru [1] as religious sacrificial rites why does he go out of his way to assign the Australian "harvest" ceremonies to an "age" of magic?

Surely the two rites are analogous. In Australia the totem plant or animal is solemnly and sparingly eaten by the leader of the totem without any suggestion of magical control. It would be too late in the year to perform magical ceremonies to cause plants or animals to grow and multiply, and therefore another motive must be sought for the harvest rites. The solemn preparations show with what reverential awe these ceremonies are regarded by the natives, and the very tabus suggest sacredness, which is but another name for religion. Therefore if the rite is not magical—and *a fortiori* if it is, as Frazer terms it, sacramental—then it is religious, and the motive can be but that of entering into sacramental relations with the totem. Jevons would go so far as to suggest that these Australian sacramental meals originally had reference to the god who was invited to partake of the first-fruits. In process of religious decay the invitation gradually dropped out, just as the reference to the All-Father has apparently become eliminated from the initiation ceremonies among the Central tribes.[2] Whether or no in Australia, as

[1] Cf. p. 126.

[2] "Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion," pp. 184 f.

elsewhere, the solemn eating of the first-fruits has been a sacramental meal of which both the god and the worshippers were partakers, there seems little room to doubt that the rites are not magical ceremonies designed for the purpose of increasing the food-supply. The purpose of the rite must be sought in some higher and worthier motive than that of providing the "meat that perisheth." A further examination of the interesting and important customs associated with Intichiuma ceremonies will, it is believed, bring out the real significance of the rites.

When an Intichiuma ceremony in the Undiara kangaroo totem is to be performed the men proceed to the foot of a hill on the slope of which two blocks of stone project, one above the other. One of these stones is supposed to represent a male kangaroo, the other a female kangaroo. The headman of the totem clan with a man who is in the relation of mother's uncle to him climbs up to the two blocks and rubs them with a stone. They then repair to a rocky ledge, supposed to be haunted by the spirits of ancestral kangaroos, and paint it with stripes of red and white to indicate the red fur and white bones of the kangaroo. When this is done a number of the young men sit on the top of the ledge, while the men below sing of the increase of the kangaroos. Blood letting follows. "The men open veins in their arms and allow the blood to stream out on to and over the ledge of the sacred ceremonial stone which represents the spot where a celebrated kangaroo of the Alcheringa went down into the earth, its spirit part remaining in the stone which arose to mark the place." [1] According to Spencer and Gillen the purpose of the ceremonies is to drive out in all directions the spirits of the kangaroos and so to increase the number

[1] "Native Tribes," p. 462.

of the animals.[1] Strehlow, however, maintains that the rite makes real kangaroos, with living bodies, appear.[2]

After the rite has been duly performed the young men go and hunt the kangaroo, bringing their spoils back to the camp. Here, the old men with the Alatunja in their midst, eat a little of the flesh of the animal and anoint the bodies of those who took part in the Intichiuma with its fat, after which the meat is divided among all the men assembled. The men then decorate themselves with totemic designs and the night is spent in singing songs relating to the exploits of the Alcheringa men. When this has been done the animal may be eaten sparingly.[3]

In the Idnimita totem, when the Intichiuma ceremonies for increasing the supply of the grub have been duly performed, and the grub has become plentiful, the men who do not belong to the totem collect the insects and bring them into the camp. There they lay their store before the Alatunja and the men of the totem, who eat some of the smaller grubs and hand back the remainder to the men who do not belong to the totem. After this the men of the totem may eat sparingly of the grub.

Likewise, after the ceremonies have been performed for increasing the number of the bandicoots, the men who do not belong to that totem go out in search of a bandicoot, and when they have it they bring it into the camp, and then put some of the animal's fat into the mouths of the bandicoot men, and also rub it over their own bodies. After this the bandicoot men may eat a little of their totem.[4]

With variations the same rite is found among the

[1] Op. cit., p. 206. [2] III, p. 7.
[3] "Native Tribes," p. 204. [4] "Native Tribes," pp. 205 f.

Urabunna,[1] the Kaitish,[2] the Unmatjera,[3] and in the Encounter Bay Tribe.[4] The Northern tribes (Warramunga, Walpari, Umbaia) show traces of the rite having once been practised by them; inasmuch as the sacred flesh of the totem is presented to the chief, who refuses it, giving permission at the same time to the men of the totem to eat it freely.[5] Everywhere it is made up of the same essential elements. A small quantity of the sacred food is given to the headman, who solemnly eats it. Thus, the sacredness of the totem is transferred to the totemite. Every member of the clan contains a mystic substance within him of which his very soul consists, and through which he obtains his social as well as his religious status. Even at death he is thought to be gathered unto his totem.

It is therefore not remarkable that the men of a totem should periodically strive to enter into sacramental relations with the fountain and source of all life. To whom else can they go for the all-important quality, and how else can it be obtained but by assimilating the sacred flesh of the species? So it comes about that at the time of year when the forces animating the totemic species attain their maximum intensity, as manifested by the harvest, the men of the group seize the opportunity of holding religious as opposed to magical rites for the express purpose of entering into sacramental relations with what to them is the essence of sacredness, and the well-spring of life. Thus, the Australian regenerates himself spiritually.

There are other ceremonies connected with Intichiuma which may help to show that these rites taken collectively contain all the germs of the sacrificial system.

[1] "Northern Tribes," pp. 286 f.
[2] Op. cit., p. 294.
[3] Op. cit., p. 296.
[4] Woods, "Native Tribes South Australia.," p. 187.
[5] "Northern Tribes," p. 318.

In the Unjiamba or Hakea-flower totem an Intichiuma ceremony is performed by the men of the Bulthara and Banunga classes at a shallow, oval-shaped pit, by the side of which grows an ancient Hakea tree. In the centre of the depression is a small projecting and much worn block of stone, which is supposed to represent a mass of Hakea flowers, the tree being the *Nanja* tree of an Alcheringa woman whose re-incarnation is still alive. After the pit has been swept by an old Unjiamba man and songs sung inviting the tree to flower much and the blossoms to be full of honey, "the old leader asks one of the young men to open a vein in his arm, which he does, and allows the blood to sprinkle freely, while the other men continue the singing. The blood flows until the stone is completely covered." [1] This done the ceremony is complete. The stone is regarded as a Churinga, and the spot is forbidden to the women, children and the uninitiated. In other words the ceremony has established a blood bond between the totem and the totemites, and the place is therefore rendered sacred and tabu.

A similar blood ceremony performed in connexion with the kangaroo totem has been described as an example of an Australian sacramental meal. The important part played by blood in making a vital connexion with the sacred world can hardly be overestimated. Thus, Dr. Trumbull, a thoughtful writer, is led to say: "Beyond the idea of inspiration through an interflow of God-representing blood, there has been in primitive man's mind (however it came there) the thought of a possible inter-communion with God through an inter-communion with God by blood. God is life. All life is from God, and belongs to God. Blood is life. Blood, therefore, as life, may be a means of man's inter-union with God. As the closest and most sacred covenants

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 184, 185.

between man and man; as, indeed, an absolute merging of two human natures into one—is a possibility through an inter-flowing of a common blood; so the closest and most sacred of covenants between God and man, so the inter-union of the human and the Divine, has been looked upon as a possibility, through the proffer and acceptance of a common life in a common blood-flow.

"Whatever has been man's view of sin and its punishment, and of his separation from God because of unforgiven sin (I speak now of man as he is found, without the specific teaching of the Bible on the subject) he has counted blood—his own blood, in actuality or by substitute—a means of inter-union with God, or with the gods. Blood is not death, but life. The shedding of blood, Godward, is not the taking of life, but the giving of life. The outflowing of blood towards God is an act of gratitude or of affection, a proof of loving confidence, a means of inter-union. This seems to have been the universal primitive conception of the race. And an evidence of man's trust in the accomplished fact of his inter-union with God, or with the gods, by blood, has been the also universal practice of man's inter-communion with God, or with the gods, by his sharing, in food-partakings, of the body of the sacrificial offering, whose blood is the means of Divine-human inter-union." [1]

Of course it is not implied, by inserting this quotation here, that this conception was necessarily definitely present *in extenso* in the aboriginal mind when simple blood ceremonies were performed, or the totem eaten sacramentally. But in the Australian Intichiuma rites most of the *essential principles* of the later institution of sacrifice are present. After the totemic animal has been killed, the Alatunja and the old men solemnly eat

[1] "Blood Covenant," pp. 147, 148.

it, and thus assimilate the sacredness of the theanthropic animal. The chief difference between this and the later forms of sacrifice lies in the animal in this case being naturally sacred, while ordinarily it acquires this character during the rite. But the mystic sacramental union between the totem and the totemite is none the less maintained by the ceremonies that terminate the Intichiuma. A man of the witchetty grub totem believes himself to be a witchetty grub. In order to keep this quality he assimilates the flesh of the creature that he may dwell in the grub, and the grub in him. The solemn preparations show with what reverential awe these sacramental meals are regarded by the natives. The fasts, the Churinga, the totemic decorations, the sacred rocks, etc., all testify to the sacred atmosphere surrounding the mysteries.

In the blood ceremonies we see exemplified the means whereby a blood covenant is made with the totem to prevent the totems from vanishing from the land. By opening a vein in his arm upon the kangaroo rocks, or eating the flesh of the sacred animal, or having its fat—a substance which with the Australian ranks equally with the blood as regards potency—rubbed on his body, a union of a sacramental nature is established with the totem. True, the present generation of natives explain the ceremonies by saying that they drive out in all directions the spirits of the kangaroos, etc., and so increase the number of the animals.[1] But, as Spencer and Gillen point out, the one essential feature of the ceremonies for the totemite is "the necessity of identifying himself closely with his totem."[2] By the partaking of a sacramental meal an alliance is made with the supernatural ally, the mana concentrated in the victim

[1] "Native Tribes," p. 206. Strehlow, "Zeitschrift f. Ethnol.," iii., pp. 7 and 12, ver. 7.

[2] "J. A. I.," xxviii., p. 278.

(especially in its blood) going out and giving strength to the communicant, neutralizing his infirmities by drawing them into itself. Therefore, it is contended, that in what Dr. Marett calls the " pre-animistic " type of religion,[1] the earliest attempts at sacrifice were means whereby the worshippers were placed in physical contact, after a sacramental manner, with their totem. It is only when animistic and theistic conceptions arise that offerings of food are made to divine beings, to secure their favour or minimize their hostility. True, the Australians have a very real belief in tribal All-fathers, but only as remote anthropomorphic beings in need of nothing that man can give. It has yet to be proved that they are the recipients of sacrificial gifts.

The theory of Durkheim that both the essential forms of sacrifice—the act of oblation and the act of communion—are found in germinal form in the Intichiuma rites [2] rests on the evidence of Strehlow that the hymn which is sung at the Intichiuma of the kangaroo describes the offering of a morsel of kangaroo fat to make the fat of the kangaroos increase.[3] Apart from this instance, and from offerings to the dead consisting of stone hatchets, clubs, water, and in modern times matches,[4] there is no evidence of gift-sacrifice in Australia.

In the development of the rite, however, gifts to supernatural beings, and piacular or propitiatory offerings of an atoning nature, soon came into force. Thus, among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa trees distinguished by a girdle of palm-leaves (supposed to be animated by Huntin) may not be cut down without the native woodman first purging

[1] " The Threshold of Religion," p. xxi.
[2] " Les Formes Elémentaires de la Vie Religieuse," p. 484.
[3] " Zeitschrift f. Ethnol.," p. 12, ver. 7.
[4] Howitt, p. 463.

himself of sacrilege by offering a sacrifice of fowls and palm-oil to the indwelling god.[1] The Masai propitiate the *subugo* tree, the bark of which has medical properties, by pouring the blood of a goat at the foot of the trunk and strewing grass on the branches.[2] The natives of Bantoc, in the north of Luzon, deposit food under certain trees which are regarded as the abode of the spirits of their ancestors.[3] In Laos, before a stranger can be accorded hospitality, the master of the house is required to offer sacrifice, in the form of cattle, etc., to the ancestral spirits, lest they be offended and send disease on the household.[4] Likewise, in the island of Timor, after a successful head-hunting expedition sacrificial gifts are offered to appease the soul of the victim.[5] A portion of the new fruits are invariably offered to the gods in agricultural communities, before they are eaten by the people.[6]

In addition to offering a portion of the first-fruits to a spirit or god, the new crops are often eaten sacramentally. Thus, in Nicaragua, at the time of maize gatherings grains of corn were strewn around the altar. Over these the worshippers stood, and with flint knives let blood from the most sensitive parts of their bodies fall on the grains. These were then eaten sacramentally.[7]

Something similar obtained in Peru. At the time of the vernal equinox, all strangers were forbidden to leave the sacred city of Cuzco, where the Inca resided. A human victim was immolated, and the spotless "Virgins of the Sun" were deputed to mingle his blood with meal and bake it into small cakes. These were distri-

[1] Ellis, "Ewe-speaking Peoples," p. 49.
[2] Sir H. Johnston, "The Uganda Protectorate," ii., p. 832.
[3] "Golden Bough," Pt. II, p. 30.
[4] Op. cit., Pt. III, p. 104.
[5] Op. cit., p. 166.
[6] Op. cit., Pt. VIII, vol. ii.
[7] Oviedo, "Historia de las Indias," x., chap. xi.

buted among the people and eaten, and one was sent to every shrine and temple in the kingdom.[1] Dr. Frazer gives numerous examples of the killing and sacramental eating of the corn-spirit in its various representations.[2] Of all the instances cited, the most remarkable, from the theological standpoint, is the custom among the Aztecs of sacramentally eating bread as the body of the god Huitzile-poetilli or Vitzilipuztli.

Before the conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards the Aztecs made their principal feast in the month of May. Two days before this feast the virgins mingled a quantity of the seed of the beets with roasted maize, moulding it with honey. Thus, a life-sized symbolical representation of the god was constructed, and clad by the noblemen in a rich garment, who carried it in a chair on their shoulders to an appointed place. On the morning of the feast the maidens, attired in white and crowned and bedecked with garlands of maize, carried the image to the foot of the great pyramid-shaped Temple, amid the strains of instrumental music. They then came out of their convent and delivered pieces of the paste whereof the idol was made to the young men, who carried them up and laid them at the feet of the image. These they called the flesh and bones of Vitzilipuztli. Singing and dancing and other ceremonies followed, by means of which they were blessed and consecrated for the flesh and bones of the idol. Men were then sacrificed, and at noon the people reverently sacramentally partook, fasting, of the life of Vitzilipuztli. The sacrament was then carried to the sick.

The Aztecs, however, did not content themselves with eating their god in the outward and visible shape of bread and grain. They craved for a closer union with *living* God, and so they fortified the dough with

[1] Balbao, "Histoire du Perou," p. 125.
[2] "Golden Bough," iii., Pt. V, chap. x.

human blood. A youth was chosen and named for the god. For months the person thus doomed to play the fatal part of divinity was allowed to roam the streets of Mexico freely, escorted by a distinguished retinue, who paid him as much respect as if he had indeed been the god himself instead of his image. He was permitted to taste all the joys of the transient world to which he was soon to bid farewell. At the expiration of the set time he was slain on the altar and his fresh blood was mixed with dough, which was, as in the former case, divided among the worshippers and eaten.[1] Thus, they became partakers of the divine nature.

It is, of course, difficult to think of the divine nature immanent in inanimate substances, but the further psychological history is traced back, the vaguer becomes the distinction between the animate and the inanimate world. Thus, in Australia food becomes sacred and charged with divine potency, when touched by a chief, or some sacred object. When the products of hunting or gathering are brought in to be thrown in the tribal store the principal men of the hunting group begin by eating a little of the food, after which the food is only tabu to the hunters.[2] Here again is sacramental significance.

Dr. Farnell shows that this conception was probably present in pre-Homeric religion. "Certain external objects used in ritual were regarded as mysteriously charged with divinity, so that those who handled them were brought into communion with the deity through physical contact."[3] The sacred boughs or "κλάδοι, borne in the hands of Bacchic Mystæ, are themselves called by the very name of the god, βάκχοι. The

[1] Sahagon, "Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne," pp. 203 f.

[2] Native Tribes Central Australia," p. 167.

[3] "Hibbert Journal," Jan. '04, p. 309.

Pythoness at Delphi and the prophet at Klaros enter into the divine communion which induces ecstasy by drinking of the sacred water in which the spirit of the divinity is thought to reside." [1]

In Egyptian sacrifice the idea was not that of a burnt offering in order that the sweet smelling odour might ascend to heaven, but that of setting out a table of food for the god. Thus, the god and his worshippers feasted together, and portions of the meal were assigned to each.[2] This custom survived as late as the second century A.D., when the Temple feasts were looked upon as occasions when men " dined at the table of the Lord Serapis in the Serapeum."[3] From very early times the animal-gods were eaten sacramentally, as, for instance, at Memphis, where the sacred bulls were eaten excepting the head and bones which were carefully preserved (XIX. Dynasty). The sacred ram was likewise killed and eaten sacramentally at Thebes.

Mr. Blackman is of the opinion that the burning of incense and the pouring of libations, which are so closely associated in the funeral and Temple ritual in the Pyramid Texts, are performed for the same purpose, namely, to revivify the body of god and man by restoring to it its lost moisture. Under the form of libations it was believed that either the actual fluids that had run from it, or those of Osiris himself, were communicated to the corpse. In the case of fumigation with incense it is the latter of these two ideas, he thinks, that has prevailed, namely, that the body was revivified, not by the restoration of its own exudations, but by receiving those of Osiris.[4] If Mr. Blackman can succeed in proving this theory, the rites of libations and incense will be

[1] Op. cit., p. 312.
[2] "Twentieth Dynasty Harris Papyrus,"
[3] " Oxyrh. Papyr.," i, p. 177.
[4] " Incense and Libations in Temple and Funerary Ritua l.'

shown to be of the nature of sacramental offering, by which certain powers and virtues were supposed to be mysteriously imbibed by the recipient.

According to Naville the original idea of sacrifice in Egypt is that of communion with the deity by a vicarious human sacrifice.[1] An ancient myth, he says, tells how the destruction of mankind by the gods was averted by vicarious sacrifice. Ra is represented as saying to mortals, "Your sins are behind you: slaughter averteth slaughter, hence arise sacrifices." Does this refer to an establishment of right relations between a human being and a deity by means of a vicarious human sacrifice? It is difficult to say, but, at any rate, the custom apparently originated in a subconscious endeavour to establish a real union between the deity and the worshipper.

Closely akin to the sacrifice of the Ram god at Thebes is the sacramental eating of the bear among the Ainus. A cub is suckled by a woman, and treated with great affection by the whole community. It is then addressed in the following manner: "O thou divine one, thou wast sent into the world for us to hunt. O thou precious little divinity, we worship thee; pray hear our prayer. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with a great deal of pains and trouble, all because we love thee so. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy father and mother. When thou comest to them please speak well of us, and tell them how kind we have been; please come to us again and we will sacrifice thee again."[2] It is then strangled and squeezed to death by all the people. An arrow is discharged into its heart by a crack shot so as to avoid any of its blood being spilt. Sometimes the blood is drunk by the men in order that they may assimilate the strength and virtue

[1] "The Old Egyptian Faith."

[2] "Ainus and their Folk-lore" (Batchelor), p. 186.

of the animal. Prayers are addressed to it, and the "cup of offering," consisting of the broiled meat offered to the bear, is then partaken of by all the people. Not to partake of the sacred meal would be equivalent to excommunication, since it would place the recreant outside the pale of Ainu fellowship.[1]

The desire for union with the deity may be traced through various stages of the development of Greek cult in classical times. In the Hellenic Mysteries the idea was clearer and more emphatically expressed than anywhere else in Greek or Rome. Participation in these was described as a means of life in the "world below."[2] The purificatory and propitiatory ceremonies with which the Eleusinian Mysteries began, led up to the symbolic meal in which the worshipper held mystic and personal communion with the deity.[3] In this connexion Dr. Jevons maintains that the great power and attractiveness of such mysteries as those of Eleusis arose from their conservation and development of the more ancient and higher idea of sacrifice, of a communion service, in which the worshipper partook of the very substance of the divinity, and thus became vitally united to him, while the public ritual had everywhere developed into a lifeless ceremony of gift-offerings.

Both Dr. Farnell and Dr. Frazer are unable to accept Jevons' conclusions that the Mysteries are developed out of sacramental meals connected with an Eleusinian communion-totem.[4] On the other hand, Mr. Andrew Lang and M. Solomon Reinach support Jevons in explaining the Greek ritual on a totemic basis. M. Reinach claims that when the Greeks became agriculturists the

[1] "Golden Bough," iii., Pt. VIII, pp. 180–185.
[2] Sophocles, "Fragments," p. 719.
[3] Hatch, "Hibbert Lectures," 1888, pp. 289, 290.
[4] "Golden Bough," iii., Pt. II, p. 293; and Farnell, "Cult of Greek States," iii., pp. 194–197.

totemic rites of the nomads and shepherds, instead of completely vanishing, received a new interpretation in myth and rite. Thus, the Aktaion myth, he thinks, arose from a sacramental rending (σπαραγμός) of the stag by women-worshippers masquerading as "hinds" in honour of Artemis, the hind goddess of the totem clan. The traditional legend would arise from a semi-rationalistic interpretation of an old communion sacrifice.[1] Such a sacramental σπαραγμός was a feature of Dionysiac ritual in which the Maenads aimed at securing communion with their deity to increase vegetation. Dr. Farnell, however, thinks that the Bœotian Aktaion was originally Bacchic.[2]

On Frazer's hypothesis that myths concerning Dionysos, Attis, etc., originated in vegetation-spirits rather than as totems, the sacramental principle is still preserved, since he admits the sacramental character in the harvest supper.[3]

Dr. Farnell, though rejecting the idea of an anticipation of the Christian Eucharist in the Eleusinian Mysteries, is ready to allow the communion element in the Attis-Cybele mysteries of Phrygian origin.[4] Here the fusion of the mortal with the divinity was brought about by a blood-ritual and rites of a coarser symbolism, but partly by a sacramental meal of bread and wine or some other liquid, "eaten by the Attis-votary as the very substance or body of his divinity, for in the liturgy of Attis he was himself called the 'Cornstalk.' He was then the mystic Bread in a sense in which Demeter (in the Eleusinian rites) is never found to have been. And this is a close pagan parallel to the dogma of transubstantiation."

[1] "Cultes, Mythes et Religions," iii.
[2] "Classical Studies," '08.
[3] "Golden Bough," Pt. I, p. 358.
[4] "Hibbert Journal," Jan. '40, p. 316.

The character of the whole ritual of the Cybele cult was sacramental, inasmuch as its aim was in various ways to establish communion with the deity. Thus, "Gallos" was himself called κύβηβος, the male counterpart of the goddess; and the high-priest at Pessinus was himself Attis, a divine priest-king, supposed at one time to have been in union with the godhead. The catechumen was brought into sacramental communion with the divine in various ways. One of these is the *Taurobolion*, or laver of regeneration. It consisted in the person standing in a pit covered with planks pierced full of holes. A bull was then slain on the platform above, the blood drenching the votary below. Another method of effecting regeneration was by means of a mystic marriage, whereby a corporeal union was established with the divinity. Or again, the catechumen could attain to a divine existence through sacramental food. "I have eaten from the cymbal; I have become a mystic votary of Attis," was the confessional formula of these mysteries.[1]

Dr. Farnell, in examining the blood offerings of Hellas, concludes that the Arcadian legend of King Lykaon, who kills and serves up in a banquet his infant son to Zeus Lykaios, preserves a reminiscence of a real cannibalistic communion-sacrifice, in which the son of the god-king or the god-priest dies sacramentally, and his flesh is tasted by the worshippers. He also regards as sacramental the Thracian worship of Dionysos, and its legend of cannibalism, making the Chian ritual (in honour of Dionysos, Ὠμίδιος, "the devourer of raw flesh") a descendant of the cannibal-sacrament of Thrace.

In Samothrace the sacrifice appears to have been the essential feature of the ritual, although it is not certain that the idea of the god's incarnation in the victim was

[1] "Cult of Greek States, Vol. I, p. 300.

present, and therefore that the sacrificial meal was also a sacramental communion. But an inscription in Bucharest, referring to the Kabeiroi mysteries, may indicate the mystic ritual of the administration of holy bread and drink to the μύσται by the priest. At any rate, enough of the document is preserved to show the importance of the sacramental cup.[1]

In the case of the mysterious βουφόνια at the Diipolia on the acropolis at Athens, Dr. Farnell inclines to agree with Professor Robertson Smith in regarding the ox as a "theanthropic" animal, voluntarily sacrificed to establish a sacramental union between the whole community (and even the stranger who partakes of the sacred flesh with them) and the sacrosanct animal.[2] This seems a more satisfactory explanation of the rites than Frazer's view that the ox represents the corn-spirit sacramentally devoured at the close of harvest in order that he may rise with fresher powers of production.[3] On the former hypothesis the original Adonis sacrifice would be the sacramental offering of sacred swine to the swine-god—a sacramental mystery wherein the participators attested their kinship to the animal-god, immolating an otherwise tabu animal.

The evidence here briefly summarized shows that from pre-Homeric days downwards the idea of sacrificial communion persisted in Greece. It was not merely a secret of Eleusis, but finds a prominent place in the state-religion, especially in the semi-Hellenic Mysteries of the Orphic-Dionysos and Attis-Cybele. Its influence on moral and spiritual growth did good service in preparing men for Christianity. The conception underlying the communion with the deity by initiation into mysteries broke up the old national exclusive cults,

[1] "Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics," art. "Kabeiroi."
[2] "Cult of Greek States," Vol. I, pp. 88 f.
[3] "Golden Bough," iii., Pt. II, pp. 88 ff.

and set forth the "beatitude" that only the pure in heart may see God, and enter into communion with Him. The sacraments were offered to all mankind regardless of race, the only bar being a moral one. The ceremony opened with proclamations of the need of purity; the candidates confessed their sins, and afterwards were baptized in the sea. These preliminary rites of purification and abstinence extended over several days that a good communion might be made. The Hellenic Mysteries failed, however, to hold out to the worshippers a superhuman ideal, and, therefore, at most they could be but a preparation for, and an anticipation of, the Incarnation of the Christ, Who was at once perfect God and perfect Man—the Ideal.

The system, however, that presents the closest resemblance to the fulfilment of all sacramental tendencies is the cult of Mithra, the Persian god of light. He was conceived as offering a perpetual sacrifice, in which "the faithful" might partake through fasting, penance, initiation and a series of probations in ascending grades, which finally should lead them to the "Beatific Vision"—the complete union of man with the divine. The celebration of the much-discussed Mithraic Eucharist consisted in a sacred communion of bread, water, and possibly wine administered to the mystics who were entering upon one of the advanced degrees. The rite probably commemorated the banquet of Mithra and Helios, before the former's ascension, and it tended to produce strength of body, wisdom, prosperity, power to resist evil, and participation in the immortality enjoyed by the god himself.

Mithraism is "perhaps the highest and most striking example of the last effort of paganism to reconcile itself to the great moral and spiritual movement . . . towards purer conceptions of God and man's relation to Him

and of the life to come."[1] It is probably because Mithraism was the last link in the chain of religious evolution that was to find its goal in Christianity, and therefore naturally bore a superficial resemblance to its nobler successor, that its rites were considered by Justin Martyr ("Apol.," i., p. 66), Tertullian ("De Baptismo," C.S.) and other of the Fathers as diabolical parodies of the Christian sacraments—an attitude adopted by Spanish missionaries regarding the Aztec sacramental rites. The reverent psychologist, however, sees in the universal sacramental tendencies connected with blood-bonds, sacramental meals, and kindred rites, the inherent yearnings of the feeble soul to reach out towards, and make itself part of the Divine Nature. He discovers that a progressive revelation is not confined to the Jews; it is rather like the Christian Church, catholic in its appeal. From simple and very primitive rites, often having for their purpose, at least in part, the supply of the food that is necessary for the body, the sacramental system, whereby the soul is fed and nourished (St. John vi. 48–58), has, in the process of time, evolved. Thus, the universal craving of mankind for union with His Maker has been effectually satisfied. The Incarnation and its extension in the sacramental system of the Church is God's answer to the individual cry of man in all ages, the Eucharist being the point to which all sacrificial ideas, in germinal form and in maturity, have been pointing from the most primitive times. Although we have arrived at the conclusion by somewhat different means from those adopted by Dr. Jevons, the closing remarks of his work, "An Introduction to the History of Religion," express the principle it has been the purpose of this chapter to set forth:—

"Sacrifice and the sacrificial meal which followed

[1] Dill, "Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius," p. 585.

it are institutions which are or have been universal. The sacramental meal, wherever it exists, testifies to man's desire for the closest union with his god, and to his consciousness of the fact that it is upon such union alone that right relations with his fellow-man can be set. But before there can be a sacramental meal there must be a sacrifice. That is to say, the whole human race for thousands of years has been educated to the conception that it was only by a divine sacrifice that perfect union with God was possible for man. At times the sacramental conception of sacrifice appeared about to degenerate entirely into the gift theory; but then, in the sixth century B.C., the sacramental conception woke into new life, this time in the form of a search for a perfect sacrifice—a search which led Clement and Cyprian to try all the mysteries of Greece in vain. But of all the great religions of the world it is the Christian Church alone which is so far heir of all the ages as to fulfil the dumb, dim, expectations of mankind: in it alone the sacramental meal commemorates by ordinance of its Founder, the Divine Sacrifice which is a propitiation for the sins of all mankind."

CHAPTER X

RITES ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONSECRATED LIFE

Methods of making medicine men in Australia: (1) by spirits, (2) by *Oruncha*, a special class of mischievous spirits, (3) by other medicine men—Methods employed by (*a*) other central tribes, (*b*) the Anula, (*c*) the south-east tribes—The "visit" to the camp of Baiame—A séance among the Kurnai—The function of the medicine man—The methods adopted in effecting a cure, and their relation to auto-suggestion—The manner of using the "death bone."—The relation of the magician to the priest—The diviner—The Ephod, the Urim and the Thummim—Tabus imposed on the priesthood—The conception of priesthood and the consecrated life in the Christian Church.

IN most societies magic, in some of its aspects, may be performed by any one who has sufficient knowledge of the necessary ritual; in other cases the magician is the specialist who performs his functions by virtue of his birth, or by initiation either by spirits or by other magicians. Thus, among the Arunta, medicine men, as the workers of magic are usually termed, are admitted to their office by three methods: (1) Those made by the *Iruntarinia* or spirits; (2) those made by the *Oruncha*—a special class of spirits of a mischievous nature; (3) those initiated by other medicine men. Sometimes the three orders practise side by side, though the first two are more highly esteemed than the third.

Messrs. Spencer and Gillen describe the making of a medicine man of the Alice Springs group by the *Irun-*

tarinia.[1] About fourteen miles south of Alice Springs there is a cave supposed to be occupied by the *Iruntarinia*, each of whom is in reality the double of one of the ancestors of the tribe who lived in the Alcheringa. These spirit-individuals are thought to be endowed with the power of making medicine men. Therefore, when a man feels he is capable of becoming one, he goes to the mouth of the cave and lies down to sleep. Were he to go inside he would be spirited away for ever. At daybreak one of the *Iruntarinia* comes to the mouth of the cave and throws an invisible arrow at the sleeper, which pierces his neck from behind, passes through his tongue, making a large hole, and then comes out through his mouth. The hole is the only outward and visible sign of the validity of the claims of the newly initiated magician. How the hole is really made it is impossible to say, but that it is there is beyond dispute. A second lance thrown by the *Iruntarinia* pierces the novice from ear to ear. This is supposed to kill him. He is then carried into the depths of the cave, which is thought to extend to a depth of ten miles. (It is in the far recesses of this cavern that the *Iruntarinia* are said to live in perpetual sunshine amongst streams of running water—a conception not far removed from that of Paradise.) Within the cave the *Iruntarinia* remove the internal organs and provide the man with a completely new set, together with a supply of magic *Atnongara* stones. He comes to life again in a state of temporary insanity, which passes off in a few days. When he is once more in his right mind he paints a broad band across the bridge of his nose, as a sign that he is a duly graduated medicine man. He does not practise for a year, and if at the end of that time the hole in his tongue closes up, he does not pursue his profession at all. Meanwhile he learns from other medicine men the

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 523 ff.

secrets of the craft. This consists chiefly in sleight of hand.

Should the *Atnongara* stones by any chance leave his body and return to the *Iruntarinia* the man's powers will at once depart. Occasionally a one-time medicine man is met with who has been the victim of this fate. Certain foods such as fat, warm meat, etc., are tabu to him on peril of losing his powers. A bite from the "bull-dog ant," or to inhale the smoke from burning bones have a like effect. Even the loud barking of the camp dogs will sometimes cause the *Atnongara* stones to take flight.

The method of procedure in making a medicine man by the *Oruncha* is similar to that of the *Iruntarinia*, the only difference being that instead of the man being taken into a cave he is taken down into the earth at the spot at which the *Oruncha* lives. Women doctors, though of rare occurrence, are usually made by this method.

The third method—that of initiation by other medicine men, is quite different from the other procedures. The candidate at the upper Fiske river is taken to a secluded spot by other medicine men called *Nung-gara*, and sworn to secrecy. The *Nung-gara* then withdraw from their bodies a number of small crystals called *Ultunda* (the equivalent of the *Atnongara* of the Alice Springs), which are placed one by one, as they are extracted, in the hollow of a spear-thrower. The assistant then tightly clasps the candidate from behind, and the *Nung-gara* presses some crystals slowly and strongly along the front of the leg and up the body to the sternum. Thus, the magic crystals are supposed to be forced into the body. The operator then goes some distance away and pretends to project some of the crystals into the man's head, meanwhile, the left hand, holding some of the crystals, is placed on the right and jerked back-

wards and forwards. The body is then again scored with stones and a crystal pressed hard on the head.

Next one of the *Nung-gara* makes a hole under the nail of the first finger of the man's right hand, into which he pretends to pass a crystal. After allowing him to go to sleep for a while the scoring is continued at various intervals during the day. In the evening he is given meat to eat in which are *Ultunda*, and then water containing crystals, which he is told are *Ultunda*. This method of feeding and the scoring is continued two days following. On the third day his tongue is pierced with a flint *Ultunda*, and his body painted with the *Murilla* —the sacred drawing of the *Oruncha*. Fur string bands are then placed on his head, with leaves of a gum tree hanging down over the forehead. He is put under a ban of silence till the wound in his tongue is healed. He must also abstain from eating fat of any kind, and the flesh of wild dogs, fish or Echnida for a long time. When he is recovered he is allowed to go to his own camp, though he must talk very little and be temperate in all things. At night he sleeps with a fire between him and his *Unawa* to make him visible to the *Oruncha*, and avoid any hindrance to his intercourse with the spirits. If he omitted to do this the magic power would leave him.

The Unmatjera and Kaitish tribes employ almost identical means in making medicine men. In the Warramunga tribe they are usually made by old Worgaia men, though occasionally by a spirit called *Puntider*. Among the Binbinga the doctors are supposed to be made by spirits who are called *Mundadji* and *Munkaninki*, father and son. An old medicine man of this tribe explained to Spencer and Gillen how he graduated in his profession. One day he walked into a cave in a hill, quite unaware that the two spirits were walking about. Before he knew what was happening old Mundadji caught him by the neck and killed him. Then he cut

him open, took out his intestines and exchanged them for those of himself, which he placed in the body of Kurkutji. After this had been done, the younger spirit, Munkaninja, came up and restored him to life, telling him that he was now a medicine man and showed him how to take poison bones out of men. Then he took him up into the sky, and finally brought him down near the camp, where his people were mourning for him, thinking he was dead. When he recovered from his dazed condition the people knew he had been made into a medicine man.[1] He is now in great demand, even outside his own tribe.

The Anula tribe has a practice distinct from that of the other central tribes. The profession is strictly hereditary in the members of the falling star totem. The doctor is called *Munkani*, and may be either a man or a woman. His or her powers, however, are confined to the giving of "bones." Evil magic is withdrawn by incantations without the assistance of the medicine man. In serious cases they employ the services of doctors from neighbouring tribes.[2]

In the south-east area the making of medicine men is performed in many different ways. In the Tongaranka tribe the office passes from father to son. In the Wiimbaio a man is initiated by being plastered with, and consuming part of, the body of a dead man. The Wotjobaluk believe crystals are inserted into the body by a supernatural being called *Ngatya*. The Theddora, Wolgal, and Ngarigo think that Daramulun is the source of magical powers; the Port Jackson tribe initiate their medicine men by making them sleep on a grave. During the sleep the spirit of the dead man is supposed to remove his internals and replace them.

The Wiradjuri medicine men profess to go up to

[1] "Across Australia," ii., pp. 481–482.
[2] "Northern Tribes," pp. 488–489.

Baiame for their powers. Dr. Howitt was told by one of their magicians that he was taken by his father into the bush when a small boy and two large crystals were put against his breast, which vanished into him. He was then given water to drink in which crystals were placed. At the age of ten he was initiated and shown a crystal in the bush. When he looked at it his father appeared to go down into the earth and to come up covered with red dust. Next he was shown a dead man who rubbed him all over and gave him some *Wallung* (crystals). His father showed him his secret totem (a tiger-snake) and by its aid he passed them through several tree trunks and finally saw a number of little Daramuluns, the sons of Baiame. They then visited Baiame's camp by means of mystic threads. On the one side he saw Baiame sitting in his camp. He was a very great old man with a long beard, and sat with his legs under him. From his shoulders extended two great quartz crystals to the sky above him. Around him were the "boys of Baiame and of his people." [1]

In this story, which the narrator declares to be *bona fide*, there is food for thought for the theologian as well as for the psychologist. The theological significance of the experience will be dealt with in another connexion. As to the psychological interest attached to the narrative it suffices to say here that suggestion doubtless plays an important part in the initiation of medicine men, whose powers are certainly not entirely fictitious. The further study of psychic phenomena in primitive cult will probably conclusively prove that genuine occult powers are possessed by the vast majority of medicine men. Thus, among the Kurnai, the *Birraark* (the spirit medium as distinct from the *Mulla-Mullung* or medicine man proper) holds séances which bear a striking resemblance to the performances of

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 406–408.

civilized "mediums." He is introduced to the land of ghosts at his initiation, and can subsequently return thither, it is supposed, at will. One of the cases related by Howitt describes a séance held at night in the camp. The fires were let go down, and then the *Birraark* uttered a loud coo-ee at intervals. At length a shrill whistle was heard, then the shrill whistling of the *Mrarts* (ghosts), first on one side and then on the other. Shortly after the sound as of persons jumping down to the ground in succession. This was the *Mrarts*, and a voice was then heard in the gloom, asking in a strange, muffled tone, "What is wanted?" Questions were asked by the *Birraarks*, and replies given. At the termination of the séance, the voice said "Where are you going?" Finally, after all was over, the *Birraark* was found in the top of an almost inaccessible tree, apparently asleep, where he said the *Mrarts* had left him when they went away. At this séance the questions related to the movements of absent friends, and of their enemies the Brajerak." [1]

The chief function of the medicine man is to cure sickness. The natives have complete trust in his powers, probably because all ailments are attributed to the malign influence of an enemy in either human or spirit form. No reward of any kind is given or expected. If the patient recovers then the reputation of the doctor is enhanced; if a cure is not wrought, the failure is put down to the malignant action of superior magic, exerted by a hostile being, in or out of the flesh. The method of curing takes the form of an exhibition of sleight of hand, the object being to remove from the body of the patient something, such as a pointing stick, or pieces of a Churinga, which have been placed in it by an enemy.

The patient lies down, while the medicine man bends

[1] "Native Tribes South-Eastern Australia," p. 391.

over him and sucks vigorously at the part of the body affected, spitting out every now and then the pieces of wood or bone which are supposed to be causing the malady. Among the western Arunta the medicine man is thought to have a particular kind of lizard distributed in his body, in addition to the *Atnongara* stones, which gives him suctorial powers. In serious cases the action is more dramatic. After a solemn diagnosis of the case, in which other "practitioners" not infrequently assist, it is decided that the patient is suffering from a charmed bone inserted by a magic individual, or that one of the *Iruntarinia* has placed in his body an *Ullinka*, or short barbed stick attached to an invisible string, the pulling of which by the malicious enemy causes great pain. In such cases the skill of a renowned medicine man is necessary to effect a cure. The eminent doctor first of all stands close by the patient, gazing at him intently. He then recedes a few yards and looks at him fiercely, bends slightly forwards, and repeatedly jerks his arm outwards at full length, in order to project some of the *Atnongara* stones into the sick man's body, thus counteracting the evil magic at work in him. He repeats this movement with dramatic action, and finally comes close again and cuts the malign string, invisible to all but himself. The spectators are convinced that this is really done, and therefore auto-suggestion is brought to bear on the patient, which undoubtedly accounts for the recovery that not infrequently follows the efforts of a medicine man. To complete the restoration, once more he projects the *Atnongara* stones, and then places his mouth on the affected part, and sucks until the *Ullinka* is extracted, either in parts, or, as is less usual, in entirety. The illusion is complete, and, unless it is a case of senile decay, the man is cured. If he should fail the medicine man explains that his efforts have been thwarted by

some *Iruntarinia*, or that the stick has been inserted in some vital part of the body.[1]

In addition to the healing of the body, the medicine man is called upon to ascertain who is responsible for the death of a native, and to bring ill upon other people for various causes of enmity. After a death he will often state the direction in which the culprit lives, and even the group to which he belongs. It may be several years before he discovers the actual man, but sooner or later he does so. Although every man is supposed to have the power of bringing disease, etc., on individuals by magic, the medicine men, however, in most tribes, are thought to have special powers. They can assume the form of beasts (eagle-hawks, etc.) and thus disguised, travel long distances at night, doing much harm by sticking their claws into members of other tribes.

One of the commonest forms of magic is the pointing of a bone or stick at an individual with the intention of injuring him. This is done by a man charming a piece of stick or bone about six inches long, and placing either of them in the ground, in a remote spot in the bush, and muttering curses over it. He leaves the charmed article in the secret hiding place for several days, and then removes it to within a short distance of the camp. Covered by the darkness he steals out, procures the deadly weapon, and stealthily approaches the enemy's camp. When well within sight of his victim he kneels down and jerks the stick towards him several times, mumbling a fierce incantation. This done he gropes his way back to his camp, conceals the implement, and, with an air of satisfaction, awaits the sickening and ultimate death of the victim. The end accomplished he destroys the charm as a sign of the destruction of the enemy's life. Absolute secrecy is necessary in

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 531–532.

carrying out a vicious performance of this kind, as were any man caught in the act he would be most severely punished, and most likely put to death.[1]

The medicine men of the tribe are usually on friendly terms with one another and consult among themselves when necessary concerning the person at whom a death-bone has been, or is to be, pointed. At heart, nevertheless, they do not trust one another, although they frequently have a genuine belief in their own powers. In this latter respect they are never wholly impostors. It is probably a common fear that holds them together; without them the effect of the death-bone would be harmless, sickness, considered in terms of magic, would consequently tend to disappear, or, on the other hand, to be incurable. Thus, a powerful weapon of revenge would be removed for ever. The office of the medicine man is therefore safeguarded by fear and expediency. Notwithstanding the importance of the doctor to the supposed well-being of the tribe, practitioners do not enjoy any extra privileges. They marry and engage in similar pursuits to the other individuals in the camp, they are liable to sickness and death through natural or even magical agencies, and not infrequently the evil they have devised for another is turned unto their own bosom.

The close inter-relation which exists in primitive cult between magic and religion has led some anthropologists to conclude that the magician is the forerunner and prototype of the priest. Thus, Dr. Frazer, who imagines that the king is the lineal successor through the priest of the medicine man, maintains that "when once a special class of sorcerers has been segregated from the community and entrusted by it with the charge of duties on which the public welfare and safety are believed to depend, these men gradually rise to

[1] "Native Tribes," pp. 532–536.

wealth and power, till their leaders blossom into sacred kings. But the great social revolution which thus begins with democracy and ends in despotism is attended by intellectual revolution which affects both the conception and the function of royalty. For as time goes on, the fallacy of magic becomes more and more apparent to the acuter minds and is slowly displaced by religion; in other words, the magician gives way to the priest, who, renouncing the attempt to control directly the processes of nature for the good of man, seeks to attain the same end indirectly by appealing to the gods to do for him what he no longer fancies he can do for himself. Hence, the king, starting as a magician, tends gradually to exchange the practice of magic for the priestly functions of prayer and sacrifice." [1]

This conclusion is the logical outcome of the false premise that magic everywhere preceded religion; man tried to control nature by using what he conceived to be immutable laws. This method failed and in consequence he came to believe in the existence of divine powers whom he could not control; thus religion came into being. By the priest supplanting the magician the warfare between magic and religion began, which ultimately concluded in a victory for the latter. This view is very simply stated, but unfortunately it does not account for the whole body of the rites and beliefs of primitive man. It cuts off from religion the entire Australian cult. Even rites which are supposed to be under the control of Daramulun and other High Gods are assigned, on this hypothesis, to an "age" of magic.

Dr. Marett, who is also well acquainted with the magico-religious practices of the Australians, has pointed out that magic and religion are two forms of a social phenomenon originally one and indivisible.[2] In

[1] "Early History of Kingship," p. 127.
[2] "Threshold of Religion," pp. 36 ff.

the primitive conception of the supernatural there were the germs of both magic and religion, which in course of time tended to become differentiated, religion always being the more respectable of the two institutions. It is therefore not remarkable that the two cults should often merge the one into the other, thus producing magico-religious phenomena. Under this term is included the indeterminate elements, such as "white magic," religion in embryo, etc. The Melanesian word *Mana* is the generic name adopted to designate the positive aspect of the supernatural or sacred, which gives rise to the magico-religious rites and beliefs. Mana is attributed not only to natural objects but also to men, hence came into existence the professional medicine man. On this hypothesis priest and magician were originally one, but the former discarded spell for prayer and prostrated himself before a higher power.

The office of a medicine man in every primitive cult was once no doubt closely associated with that of a priest, since, in this connexion, magic and religion appear to be interfused. Thus, the medicine man in Australia is often initiated by the tribal god (*e.g.* Daramulun and Baiame) or by spirits, and therefore his mana is partly of a religious nature. Where he is considered as the recipient of a new nature by the god or spirit—as, for example, where his internals are exchanged for those of the god—at least in theory more than a mere worker of black magic, because he controls natural forces by supernatural means. By a process of evolution this class of medicine man doubtless develops into a person who performs certain ritual acts in the name of the community with the delegated authority of the gods, that is to say, he becomes a priest. On the other hand a magician pure and simple acts in his own name and on his own authority.

A priesthood is only possible where a definite relation-

ship exists between the deity and the community, since the office of priest is to propitiate the gods or act as their mouthpiece. This latter function is probably responsible for the tendency sometimes found to invest the priest with the office of diviner. In primitive cults divination is usually associated with the magician. Thus in Greenland the Angekok, as the mouthpiece of the Supreme Being, foretells the weather and the prospects of fishing.[1] The Yorubans have a special god of divination whose priest is the soothsayer of the community.[2] In Ashanteeland priests and priestesses owe their importance chiefly to their power to interpret omens, signs, etc.[3] It is not without significance that the Aramaic term *kakin*, used for "priest" in the inscriptions of the ancient Arabs, is retained among the Sinai-Arabs in its original meaning, while it is used by the later Arabs in the sense of soothsayer. In early times the deity had been accustomed to reveal himself to his priests; thus the divining arrows of Hubal and of other gods—things only used by priests—survived in later times as relics of a more primitive age. The Todas have an interesting deviation which is, nevertheless closely allied to the function of priesthood. Among this primitive people the diviner claims for himself a separate office distinct from that of magician, the prophet and the dairyman. He is inspired by a god, speaks in an aesthetic state, but, for the most part, confines his prophetic utterances to the explanation of the origin of misfortunes.[4]

The heathen practices of divination are emphatically condemned by the "Later Prophets," often with little success, but in the historical books of the Old Testa-

[1] Cranz, "Greenland," I, pp. 192 ff.
[2] Ellis, "Yoruba," pp. 56 ff.
[3] "Tshi-speaking People," p. 124.
[4] Rivers, "Todas," pp. 249. ff.

ment, there are repeated references to the custom, obviously as survivals of a more primitive cult mingling with the worship of "Yahweh the God of the Hebrews." [1] Moses forbad every species of divination because a prying into the future must lead to a superstitious following of the cults of the surrounding nations. Although, in the grosser forms, divination, together with other magical rites, was definitely forbidden in Israel, yet the seer and the prophet at first adopted the same methods employed by the heathen diviner and soothsayer—the former appealing to Yahweh, the latter to Baal and Dagon—both using almost identical ritual practices. Indeed, the frequent denunciation of the sin in the prophets tends to prove that the forbidden arts presented peculiar temptation to apostate prophets. The very nature of the office of a prophet made for divination in its grosser forms. Various other classes of diviners are mentioned as existing in Israel, but the distinctions between them are not given.[2]

It seems evident that the priests were the official diviners in early days, employing the Ephod and the Urim and Thummim for the purpose of divination (Exod. xxviii., 30). Exactly in what these objects consisted it is by no means easy to say. Apart from the Aaronic robe there is no clear evidence that the ephod was a garment. In fact in some cases it appears to have been an image of gold. Thus Gideon made a golden ephod and "all Israel went a whoring after it" (Judges viii. 26 f.; cf. 1 Sam. xxi. 1). Sometimes the ephod was made of linen. Samuel ministered before Yahweh, "girded with a linen ephod" (1 Sam. ii. 18). The word "girded" here may be used as in the case of a sword and not as signifying a garment. This sacred object is found in close conjunction with *teraphim*,

[1] Gen. xliv. 5; Lev. xix. 3; Deut. xiii. 1–3.
[2] Deut. xiii. 1, 10; xviii. 10.

images used in divination (Ezek. xxi. 21 ; Zech. x. 2 ; Judges xvii. 4f.) Deuteronomy xxxiii. 8 makes it clear that the use of the Urim and Thummim was confined to the priests. What these objects were can only be conjectured. That they were connected with some method of casting lots is evident from 1 Samuel xiv. 48 f. It is therefore usually supposed that they were stones, but no certain conclusion can be arrived at, since the priestly writer himself gives no account as to how they were made. They were retained in his narrative apparently because their use was invested with the mystery of a long vanished past. In fact they were looked upon as one of the most venerable adjuncts of the priesthood. It was known that they had been a means of ascertaining the Divine Will, but their nature and method of use were evidently little understood (Ezek. ii. 63 ; Neh. vii. 65 ; cf. Ecclus. xlv. 10).

Similar modes of divination were practised by the pre-Islamic Arabs. Two arrow-shafts, one on which was written " Command," on the other " Prohibition," were placed in a receptacle, and according as one or the other of them were drawn out it was known whether the proposed enterprise was in accordance with the will of the god and destined to succeed or not.[1] It may be said that, together with dreams and prophetic oracles, the Ephod, Urim and Thummim, formed the recognized medium by which the Divine communications were given to Israel (1 Sam. xxviii. 6), and in this way the priest may be regarded as the official diviner.

The office of priest is doubtless a product of evolution in the sense that it arises with the more developed religious conceptions, particularly those of sacrifice and propitiation. But just as sacrificial ideas are found in primitive cult, so the germ of the priesthood is present in the earliest magico-religious practices. Inasmuch as

[1] " Encyclop. Bib.," Art. " Urim," col. 5236.

the magician controls natural forces by supernatural agencies working in him, he is, on the religious side, exercising powers which in due course are destined to evolve into sacerdotal functions. The transition from the medicine man to the priest is not, as Frazer imagines, the result of the displacement of magic by religion, the magician renouncing the attempt to control directly the processes of nature, in favour of an appeal to the gods to do for him what he no longer fancies he can do for himself. It is rather a development on the lines laid down by Dr. Marett—the religious aspect of his office becoming more and more defined, with the result that the magic practices are of necessity abandoned. In the early stages of this process of evolution it is often difficult to distinguish between the magician and the priest, or between the priest and the diviner. This latter interfusion of office is seen even in the higher religions. It also happens that at certain times and under certain conditions the king or chief exercises priestly functions, or the priest assumes civil authority, but in these exceptional cases the specific character of the sacerdotal office remains unchanged. The combination of civil ruler and vicar of Christ on earth was in the middle ages exercised, to a considerable extent, by the Roman pontiffs, without in any way affecting their episcopal functions.

The priest, by virtue of his initial ordination, becomes invested with Divine authority to act on behalf of the community in the name of the Deity.[1] He is therefore regarded as a sacred person. In primitive cult he has to be guarded against contamination by profane things, and care has to be taken that his sacredness be not injuriously communicated to other persons or objects. He is often required to abstain from a flesh diet. The

[1] Lev. viii.; 1 Tim. iv. 14; v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6; cf. Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Deacons in P. B.

Gangas or fetish priests of the Loango Coast are forbidden to eat, or even to see, a variety of animals and fish, although they may drink fresh blood. The hair and nail parings of such sacred persons must not be touched by common folk. Sacerdotal vestments (or their equivalent) must be changed immediately the priest mixes with the people.[1]

He is often forbidden to engage in warfare or to shed blood. The "holy men" of the North-American Indians, like the Jewish priests, were by their function absolutely prohibited to shed blood. Herodotus says of the Persian Magi that they "kill animals of all kinds with their own hands, excepting dogs and men."[2] The Druids of Gaul never went to war, probably in order to keep themselves free from blood pollutions. To the same class of facts belong those canons of the Christian Church which forbid priests to bear arms, serve on the jury, etc. (This latter prohibition is probably the result of the decree forbidding the clergy to have any part in bringing about a sentence of death on any one—*Concilium Lateranense* iv., A.D. 1215, Ch. 18).

Christianity introduced into Europe a higher regard for human life than was felt anywhere in pagan society. The early Church looked upon war as unlawful and a thing to be avoided at all costs (St. Matt. v. 9, 39, 44; Rom. xii. 17; Ephes. vi. 12, Just. Martyr, "Apologia," I, "Pro Christiano," 39; Tert. "De Corona," II; "De Idolatria," 19; Origen, "Contra Celsum," v., 33; viii., 73.) When Christianity became a State religion it was compelled to abandon its former attitude regarding the non-resistance of enemies. The later Fathers (SS. Chrysostom, Ambrose, etc.), though seeing the difficulty of reconciling it with the picture of the Christian life as portrayed in the New Testament, perceived that the use

[1] "Golden Bough," III, Index. [2] Herodotus, i. 40.

of the sword was necessary to preserve the State. St. Augustine even went so far as to try to prove that the practice of war was compatible with the teachings of Christ.[1] But, although the Church thus recognized that the profession of a soldier is not contrary to the precept of God, yet by the decrees of several Councils it forbids the clergy to engage in warfare,[2] an injunction respected by the civil as well as by the ecclesiastical authorities in the present war. Our Lord seems to have had in mind the difficulties with which the Church would be confronted in later ages regarding blood-tabu when He told His disciples, as the representatives of the Apostolic Ministry, to " put up the sword into its place," while at the same time recognizing the profession of the soldier as honourable and apparently necessary. But, like the builder of the Temple in Jerusalem, those who minister in holy things He desires to be free from blood, since, like their Master, they are come to save men's lives rather than to destroy them.

Besides blood tabu the priest, in primitive cult, must keep his body clean and free from sexual impurity. His relations with women are carefully defined. Sometimes he is forbidden to marry or to approach a woman, sometimes the tabu only extends to a marriage with certain people. The Thlinkets believe that if a shaman does not observe continuous chastity his guardian spirit will kill him. Celibacy was compulsory on the priests of the Chibchas in Bogota, and the Tohil priests in Guatemala were vowed to perpetual continence. In Ichcatlan the high-priest was obliged to live constantly within the temple, and to abstain from commerce with any woman whatsoever ; if he failed in this duty he was cut in pieces, and his limbs were given as a warning to his

[1] " Epist," cxxxviii. ; " Ad Marcellinum," 15.

[2] " Canones ecclesiastici qui dicuntur Apost." '83. " Councils of Toulouse," 633, etc.

successor. The chastity of priestesses is equally zealously guarded. The vestal virgins in Yucatan were shot to death with arrows if they broke their vow to keep strictly chaste. Likewise the virgins dedicated to the sun in Peru, and the priestesses of the Tshi and Ewe-speaking peoples of the west coast of Africa, are forbidden to marry. Westermarck quotes similar examples showing the world-wide distribution of the doctrine of celibacy amongst priests and priestesses. He concludes by saying, "For a nation like the Jews, whose ambition was to live and to multiply, celibacy could never become an ideal: whereas the Christians, who professed the most perfect indifference to all earthly matters, found no difficulty in glorifying a state which, however opposed it was to the interests of the race and the nation, made men pre-eminently fit to approach their God . . . Among early Christians young women who took a vow of chastity did not look upon virginity as anything if it were not attended with great mortification, with silence, retirement, poverty, labour, fastings, watchings, and continual praying. They were not esteemed as virgins who would not deny themselves the common diversions of the world, even the most innocent." [1] Thus, the "consecrated life" reaches its highest point in the Religious Life—the corporate life lived under Rule within the Christian Church.

Our Lord set before His followers a two-fold ideal. For thirty years He lived at home, thus showing to the world the ideal of the Christian home, with its halo of purity, obedience, unselfishness and consecration of the natural life. At the end of this time He abandoned His home to set forth on His mission, proclaiming the love of God and the salvation of all mankind. In this way He put before the world the two-fold ideals of Christianity. Some are to remain in the world, leaven-

[1] "Origin and Development of Moral Ideas," II, pp. 405–421.

ing society by consecrating every detail of family, social, and national life. Others are to seek freedom from worldly hindrances in order that they may " wait without distraction upon the Lord."

Beginning with professional magicians and priests the sacerdotal office in due course is freed from the trammels of magic. The medicine man becomes but the representative of the deity, acting in his name and by his authority, not in the manner set forth by Dr. Frazer, but by throwing off the magical element of his office. Thus the way was prepared for the loftiest conception of priesthood as described by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Here the sacerdotal office is represented as summed up and perfected in Christ—the High-Priest " for ever after the order of Melchizedek "—and continued in the Christian Church.

In all stages of culture there is a clear distinction between the official priest or medicine man and the rest of the community. So in the Church the clergy " are taken from among men and ordained for men in things pertaining to God." The Christian priesthood differs from earlier conceptions in that it is religious rather than magical, representative rather than vicarious. It exercises its functions only in the name and by the authority of the Head of the Body. It is wholly dependent on the ministry of Christ, and is thus merely the organ of His Mystical Body. Since it is His power rather than its own that the Apostolic Ministry exercises in the performance of its functions it can hardly be interpreted in terms of " mana." Dr. Gore admirably sums up the situation by saying : " It is an abuse of the sacerdotal conception, if it be supposed that the priesthood exists to celebrate sacrifices and acts of worship in the place of the body of the people or as their substitute. . . . The Church is one body : the free approach to God in the Sonship and Priesthood of

Christ belongs to men as members of "one body," and this one body has different organs through which the functions of its life find expression. . . . The reception, for instance, of Eucharistic grace, the approach to God in Eucharistic sacrifice, are functions of the whole body. '*We* bless the cup of blessing,' '*we* break the bread,' says St. Paul, speaking for the community: '*we* offer, *we* present," is the language of the liturgies. But the ministry is the organ—the necessary organ—of these functions. It is the hand which offers and distributes; it is the voice which consecrates and pleads. And the whole body can no more dispense with its services than the natural body can grasp or speak without the instrumentality of hand and tongue."[1]

[1] "Ministry of the Christian Church," 2nd Ed., pp. 25, 86.

CHAPTER XI

SURVEY OF MYTHOLOGICAL LORE

The myth in primitive cult—The Alcheringa myths of the Australians—The *Inapertwa*—The making of human beings—The origin of the *Larina* operation—The *Unthippa* women—The origin of the totemic groups—The wanderings of ancestors—Corrobborees—The inspired song—Myths relating to the deluge, and the origin of death, fire and the sun—The distribution of myths and the theory of race-contact—The "Migrations of Early Culture"—The origin of the deluge myth—The relation of mythology to ritual—The origin of myths.

MYTHOLOGY is most abundant in those communities in which the deity is conceived of as a humanized anthropomorphic being, and therefore it is in the higher religions that mythological lore reaches its zenith. Thus the Indo-European myths show an advance over the Egyptian and Semitic in distinctness and fulness corresponding to the distincter individuality of the Indo-European deities. These are not powers identified with natural forces and phenomena, but persons with pronounced personalities. Zeus, Apollo, Aphrodite, Athene and other figures in Greek mythology are well defined persons with intelligence and moral characteristics of their own, and compare favourably with the Roman gods, occupied with agriculture and civil affairs. Teutonic mythology is chiefly cosmogonic and eschatological, in which gods are represented as struggling with giants, etc. This class of myth is never found in primitive cult. Never-

theless it is apparently true that from the earliest times man has shown some interest and curiosity in the origin of the things he sees about him. Tylor maintains that man's craving to know "the reason why" is "among rude savages an intellectual appetite," and "even to the Australian scientific speculation has its germ in actual experience." [1] He goes on to show how primitive man satisfies this craving. "When the attention of a man in the myth-making stage of intellect is drawn to any phenomenon or custom which has to him no obvious reason, he invents and tells a story to account for it." However, the notion of the primitive philosopher, communing alone with nature, evolving cosmological ideas out of his inner consciousness, has to be seriously modified when savage mythology is considered in relation to ritual acts.

Professor Robertson Smith has shown that the myth was originally derived from the ritual and not the ritual from the myth [2]—a conclusion in most respects supported by the sacred lore and rites of the Australians, and other primitive people.

The Australian mythology is chiefly concerned with the Alcheringa. The earliest traditions with which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen are acquainted among the Arunta are as follows.[3] In the early Alcheringa the country was covered with salt water. This was gradually withdrawn towards the north by the people of that country. (It is perhaps worthy of note that this tradition anticipates geological evidence, so far as the existence of a great inland sea is concerned.) At last they succeeded in accomplishing their task, and the salt has remained with them ever since. Two beings —*Ungambikula* ("out of nothing" or "self-existing")

[1] "Primitive Culture," i., p. 369.
[2] "Religion of the Semites," p. 18.
[3] "Native Tribes," pp. 387–449.

—dwelt in the western sky at this time, whence they saw, far away to the east, a number of *Inapertwa* creatures, that is rudimentary men, whom it was their mission to make into complete men and women. The *Inapertwa* had no distinct limbs or sense organs, and did not eat food. Coming down from their elevated dwelling-place, armed with their "*Laliva*," or great stone knives, the *Ungambikula* took hold of the *Inapertwa*, put the limbs into position, added the nose, and bored the nostrils with their fingers. The mouth and eyelids were cut out with the knife. Thus, from *Inapertwa*, men and women were formed. In most cases the *Ungambikula* then performed the rite of circumcision by means of a fire-stick. The *Inapertwa* were in course of transformation out of lizards, rats, parakeets, hakea trees, and so on. Thus out of animals and plants arose the original groups of men and women, who naturally, when they were formed, were intimately associated with the same animals and plants. The object from which an individual evolved would of necessity become his totem.

This tradition of the *Ungambikula* only refers to a certain number of local groups belonging to particular totems. The Witchetty grub totem, for instance, has no tradition relating to the *Inapertwa* stage. Nevertheless some such tradition is widely spread over a very large area in Central Australia.

When once they had come into existence, these ancestral people started to wander over the country, each totemic group going along different tracks, the kangaroo people along one track, the wild cat along another, the lizard along another, and so on through the various totems. Each of the *Ungambikula* carried with him or her a Churinga, with which the spirit part of the owner was intimately associated. As they wandered over the Arunta country the line of hills arose to mark their

routes, and by them the rivers and creeks, the clay-pans and waterholes and other physical features were made. At certain spots (oknanikilla) they halted to perform ceremonies. These became local totem centres. The operation of *Lartna* or circumcision was performed by them by means of a fire-stick, in the case of the large lizard, small lizard, and small rat totems. During the wanderings of a bandicoot woman an Unjiamba woman, carrying with her a *Nurtunja*, was encountered, upon whom the former performed the operation of *Atnaarilthа-kuma*.

The mythological traditions concerning some dancing women called *Unthippa* serve to explain some of the ceremonies connected with initiation rites. These women were *Oruncha*, that is to say, " devil " women, possessed with superhuman powers of a mischievous kind. They danced their way through the Arunta country, beginning their journey as half men and half women, and ending it as women proper. When they arrived at a place in the vicinity of Glen Helen they found a number of *Okramina* or carpet snake people, who were about to perform the rite of circumcision on some *Wurtja* (youths who had undergone the preliminary initiation rites). The women who were *Unawa* to the boys took the latter on their shoulders and carried them along with them, leaving them at various spots on the way, after performing *Lartna* on them. The *Unthippa* dance, which is performed during the initiation ceremonies at the present day, refers to these women. On the night when the boy is taken to the ceremonial ground the women approach, carrying shields and spear-throwers, and dance as the *Unthippa* women danced in the Alcheringa, while men sing time after time, the refrain, " the range all along," referring to the march of the *Unthippa* of which the women are dancing in imitation. After the boy has become *Wurtja*, and just before the actual ceremony,

one of the women, who is *Mura*, and not as the myth says, *Unawa* to the boy, lifts him on her shoulders and runs off with him, in imitation of the *Unthippa* women in the Alcheringa, but, unlike what happened in the past, the boy is again seized by the men and brought back. The myth, which probably has arisen from the rite, rather than the rite from the myth, shows that at one time women played a more important part in such ceremonies than they play at the present time.

In the next two stages of the Alcheringa an *oknirabata* (sage) introduced the rite of circumcision with a flint knife and taught the little hawk totem group to perform the operation. They also formed the four inter-marrying classes, but without associating them with marriage regulations. More *Inapertwa* were transformed; men of the wild cat totem instituted the *Arilthа* operation, and the order of the initiation ceremonies was arranged.

Finally, the emu people introduced the present marriage system.

The whole country of the Arunta is dotted over with sacred spots, at which, it is supposed, the ancestors in the Alcheringa "went down into the ground" (died), their spirits remaining with the Churinga. The old men know exactly the whole history of each spot, the routes taken by their ancestors in the Alcheringa, and what spirits inhabit different spots—wild cat in one, kangaroos in another, lizards, emu, snakes, fishes in others, and so on. It therefore follows that the birth of a child in any particular place, must, according to their theory, be the reincarnation of the ancestor who inhabited the spot in the Alcheringa, and thus every individual in the tribe gets his or her totem name, and belongs to the same totemic group as did its ancestor. Consequently in the Arunta it follows that in one family the children may belong to various totem groups, and

not, as in the Urabunna, where all the children take the name of their mother.

Briefly stated, the Urabunna myth is as follows :— In the Alcheringa, or, as the Urabunna say, the Ularaka, there existed at first a small number of half-human, half-animal or plant individuals, equivalent to the Alcheringa ancestors of the Arunta. These semi-human creatures were endowed with supernatural power. They could walk either on the earth or beneath it, or could fly through the air. They were the ancestors of the different totemic groups. A great carpet snake individual gave rise to the carpet snake group, two jew lizards gave rise to the jew lizard group, rain creatures to the rain group and so on. The belief is closely related to that of the Warramunga tribe in the far north. These semi-human creatures wandered all over the country now occupied by the Urabunna, performing sacred ceremonies, and depositing in the ground or in the water-holes or rocks (which arose to mark the spot), a number of spirit individuals called *Mai-aurli*. These in due course became changed into men and women, who formed the first series of totem groups. Since that time the *Mai-aurli* have been continually undergoing reincarnation.[1]

The Unmatjeri and Kaitish tribes have traditions dealing with incomplete human beings whom the former call *Inmintera*, and who are similar to the *Inapertwa* of the Arunta. They say that in the Alcheringa an old crow lived at Ungurla on the Woodford River, and seeing afar off a number of *Inmintera*, he decided to make them into men and women. Accordingly he did so, separating their limbs, etc., with his bill. While he was away getting his flint with which he purposed to circumcise them, two large lizard men appeared on the scene and performed the operation, together with that of subin-

[1] " Northern Tribes, Central Australia," pp. 145–147.

cision and *Atna-ariltha-kuma*. When the old crow saw that he had been superseded by the lizard men, he remained at Ungarla, and a big black stone arose to mark the spot at which he died. There are also other traditions among the Kaitish people relating to the origin of human beings, etc., but none of them lay stress, as in the Arunta myths, on the walking across the country of individuals of the same totem. The old tradition about the transformation of incomplete human beings into men and women remains, but the peopling of various spots is explained as due to one or two old totemic ancestors, who in some cases carried Churinga with them, as did the Arunta ancestors, though in other cases the spirits are reported to have emanated from their bodies.[1]

The Warramunga, Walpari, Tjingilli, and other tribes hold that every one is the incarnation of a Wingara ancestor; these latter are regarded as having been fully formed men, and all the members of a totem at the present day are looked upon as the descendants of one ancestor, who in the *Wingara* (i.e. Alcheringa) wandered over the country leaving spirit children in trees and rocks. If a woman strikes one of these trees with an axe, the spirit child will enter her body. The ancestor began his travels under ground, and then came up to the surface. Churinga are not among these tribes associated with individuals. These beliefs are also held by the Umbaia and Gnanji, but the latter do not assign a *moidna* or spirit part to women. The Binbinga tradition says that one totemic ancestor formed members of a group and left *Ulanji* spirits which emanated from his own body.

Similar myths have been found by Dr. Howitt to exist in the tribes of the south-east, and about Lake Eyre. These legends relate to the *Mura-mura*, who

[1] Op. cit., pp. 152–154.

were the predecessors and prototypes of the blacks. Like the *Ungambikula*, they are supposed to have formed men out of semi-human creatures, and later to have instituted the rite of circumcision in various ways. In one case two *Mura-mura* youths were hunting for game at Perigundi, when one of them became accidentally circumcised, and saw that he had become a "perfected man." After the other was circumcised they performed the rite on their father with a stone knife, and set out on their wanderings, carrying the knife with them, and teaching people to use it instead of the fire-stick, which had caused the death of many youths.

Other legends relate to the wanderings of the *Mura-mura*, either in connexion with certain food ceremonies, or to explain the origin of natural features. A Wonkanguru tells of an ancestral being who, having recovered his sight after being nearly blind, went forth on his wanderings singing a song into which he wove all that he saw. At length he reached a great water (presumably the Gulf of Carpentaria), on the shores of which he gathered glowing coal from a fire which had grown up of its own accord. He carried some of the glowing embers in his bag, with which, on his return journey, he destroyed the people of a certain village, who ridiculed him.

Another myth says that in the beginning the earth opened in the middle of Lake Perigundi (in the Dieri country), and then the totem animals came forth, one after another. They were quite unformed, without sense organs, and they lay on the sandhills, which then as now surrounded the lake, until, revived and strengthened by the warmth of the sun, they stood up as human beings, and separated, some going to the north-east, some to the east, and others to the south and south-west.[1]

[1] "South-eastern Tribes," pp. 475–488.

Professor Sir Baldwin Spencer thinks that the *Mura-mura* are the equivalents of the *Mai-aurli* of the Urabunna. This connects the *Mura-mura* beliefs with the Alcheringa of the Arunta, although Dr. Howitt is unable to find any trace of a belief in the reincarnation of the ancestor among the Dieri, or in the tribes of the south-east.

The Wotjobaluk account of creation may be taken as an example of the cosmical myths of the south-eastern tribes. Long ago Ngunung-ngunnut, the bat, who was a man, lived on the earth, and there were others like him. At that time there was no difference between the sexes. Feeling lonely, he wished for a wife; he therefore made one of his companions into a woman. Then he made fire by rubbing a stick on a log of wood. Another legend of these people tells of the wanderings of the two Bram-bram-gal in search of Doan, the flying-squirrel, who had been killed and eaten by Wembulin. The younger died in due course and the elder shaped part of a tree in the form of a man, and by magical means caused it to become alive and to call him elder brother. Thus the two Bram-bram-gal were again united, and travelled far to the west.

The Kurnai, Wurunjeru, etc., unlike the tribes of Central Australia, attribute their origin to the All-Father connected with the initiation ceremonies. According to the latter tribe, it was Bunjil who made men of clay and imparted life to them, while his brother, Pallina, the bat, brought women out of the water to be their wives. In the Kurnai legends a bird-man, or reptile-man, or animal-man (known as a Muk-Kurnai: an "eminent man") often plays an important part. Probably these "Muk-Kurnai" are the same as ancestors; and animals, in association with these mythical people, are the original totems. The *Mura-mura*, Alcheringa ancestors, and *Muk-Kurnai* are all on some-

what the same level, while the tribal All-Father belongs to a distinctly higher order.

The three types of belief represented by these mythical beings have certain features in common. They recognize a primitive time before man existed, and when the earth was inhabited by beings, the prototype of, but more powerful than, the native tribes. Those beings at least perfected, if they did not actually create man. Whether or no the traditions connected with the " Dream Times " —the interpretation of the word Alcheringa according to Spencer and Gillen—have a historical basis it is difficult to say. It may be that the myths have arisen to explain the tribal rites and social organization, or it may be that they represent genuine historical tradition. Expert opinion is divided. Lang treats them as mere ætiological myths, while Spencer and Howitt are of the opinion that they may be dim records of former events handed down in the sacred ceremonies. Be this as it may the main facts of the Alcheringa stories are now dramatized and portrayed by ritual acts, and thus they may almost be described as the oral aspect of certain rites. At first sight myths often appear to be merely the products of a mythopœic tendency, and to have nothing to do with ritual, whereas on further examination they are found to be intimately associated with certain ceremonies and rites. The instances quoted of the relation of the traditions concerning the *Unthippa* women and initiation ceremonies, is a case in point.

It sometimes happens that an individual is vouchsafed a glimpse of what in primitive society corresponds to a " beatific vision." He becomes duly elevated and dances a new dance or performs a new ceremony. The person who is the author in this way of a particular drama is allowed to exercise the copyright over his own inventions. Productions of this kind are

immediately submitted to the tribe in the form of a dramatic ceremony or corrobboree, and thereby they become socialized. The songs that form a large part of the corrobboree are believed to be obtained by the barbs from the spirits of the dead, during sleep and dreams or on waking. The medicine men are thought to have obtained their songs when they were in the cave with the spirits, or up in the air. The man who makes songs under ordinary circumstances in the camp is thought to be endowed with the attributes of the medicine men. Dr. Howitt found an interesting example of an inspired song in the Wurunjeri tribe. It was composed by a man to lament the death of his brother by evil magic. His belief was, however, that Bunjil himself " rushed down " into his breast and thus he was inspired by something more than mortal power when he composed the lay. On another occasion, the same observer was told when he asked the origin of a song, that the person who sang it " got it from his grandfather, who got it from his parents, who got it from the old people, who got it from Bunjil." [1]

The dances, pantomimic gestures or rhythmical movements that accompany such songs, are supposed to have been actually seen by the author during translation to the spirit world, and thus they naturally assume a sacred and permanent character, being passed on from performer to performer, as the song and ceremony is carried from tribe to tribe. It, of course, follows from this circulation of corrobborees that the original meaning of the words chanted, the decorations worn, and the pantomimic gestures performed is quite unknown to the performers, at any given time. For instance, all the corrobborees held at Alice Springs are derived from the north, and gradually filter through to the south.

[1] " Native Tribes, South-eastern Australia," p. 418.

Thus they soon become mere rites devoid of mythological interpretation. The only value such meaningless ritual acts possess is that, according to primitive philosophy, by identifying oneself with sacred things one gets sacredness. No doubt the object of all mythological stories and the accompanying rites is to bring man into contact with sacred persons, that they may thereby become full of sacredness.

In addition to the cosmological myths—a world-wide phenomenon—legends of a deluge are as common in Australia as they are in many other parts of the world. The natives of Lake Tyers tell of a time when there was no water on the earth, and all the animals met together to discover the cause of the drought. They found that a gigantic frog had swallowed up all the water, and would only disgorge it if he were made to laugh. It was not until the eel began to wriggle that he could be persuaded to open his jaws and allow the water to rush out. The result of the eel's distortions was that a great flood overspread the land, causing man to perish in the waters. Thereupon the pelican, who was a black before the flood, made a great canoe and sailed on the waters, picking up any natives he saw. Unfortunately he quarrelled about a woman with those whom he rescued, and his philanthropic efforts were only rewarded by his being turned into stone.

The origin of death has, in all ages of culture, been a fruitful occasion for the exercise of the mythological imagination. Among various tribes in New South Wales it is said that the people were meant to live for ever. But they were forbidden to approach a certain hollow tree. The wild bees made a nest in the tree, and the women coveted the honey. In spite of warnings by the men, a woman attacked the tree with her tomahawk, and out flew a huge bat. The bat was Death, which was henceforth free to wander over the

earth, and claim all that it could touch with its wings.[1] Another myth—this time from West Australia—says that when man first began to exist there were two beings, male and female, named Walleyneup and Doronop. They had a son named Bindirwoor, who received a deadly wound, which they failed to heal, whereupon it was declared by Walleyneup that all who came after should die in like manner. The son went to the spirit country in the west, whence his parents followed him. They could not persuade him to return, so they have remained with him ever since.[2]

Similar myths are found in Africa, America, and, in fact, in all parts of the world. The Baganda, for instance, think that death originated through Kintu, the first man, and Nambi—a daughter of Mugulu (Heaven)—going on a journey to earth at the request of Mugulu. Kintu returned to get some millet to feed a hen that they were carrying with them. Mugulu was angry at his disobedience, he having previously forbidden them to return on any account till their mission was fulfilled. Nambi's brother, Warumbe (Death), insisted on going with Kintu on his journey to earth, and lived with him and Nambi. The latter gave birth to three children, of whom Warumbe claimed one. He was refused. Thereupon he put a curse on the children so that they died. He then sank into the earth, and it was not until Kaikuzi (the Digger) came on the scene that he was forced out. Unfortunately, some children feeding goats at the place saw him and cried out. Their cries broke the spell, and Warumbe returned to the ground, where he was allowed to stay by command of Mugulu.[3] In these legends, as in the

[1] K. Langloh Parker," The Euahlayi Tribe," p. 98.
[2] N. W. Thomas, " Natives of Australia," p. 245.
[3] Johnston, " Uganda Protectorate," ii., p. 700.

Hebrew account (Gen. ii. 16, 17), death is represented as the result of disobedience.

Among the Arunta, Hottentots, and other primitive people, the moon plays a large part in the myths connected with the origin of death. The former believe that before there was any moon in the heavens, a man of the opossum totem died and was buried. Shortly afterwards he arose from the grave in the form of a boy. When the people ran away for fear, he followed them shouting, "Do not be frightened, do not run away, or you will die altogether; I shall die but I shall rise again in the sky." He subsequently grew into a man and died, reappearing as the moon, and since then he has continued periodically to die and come to life again, but the people who ran away died altogether. When no longer visible it is supposed that the moon man is living with his two wives who dwell far away in the west.[1]

The Australians have many legends as to the origin of fire. The Central tribes think that in the Alcheringa a man of the Arunga or euro totem, named Algurawartna, started from Ililkinja in the East in pursuit of a gigantic euro which carried fire in its body. The man carried with him two big Churingas with which he tried to make fire, but failed. One night during his chase of the euro, Algurawartna awoke and saw a fire burning by the animal. He at once went up to it and took some, and with it cooked some of the euro flesh he was carrying with him. The euro ran away, going along its old tracks to the east. The man followed, still trying to make fire. At Alilkinja Algurawartna succeeded in killing the euro with his Churinga. He examined the body carefully and extracted the fire. For a long time he lived on the body of the animal, and

[1] "Native Tribes," p. 564.

when the fire went out he tried fire-making again. This time he was successful.[1]

The Booandik tribe account for the beginning of fire in a rather different manner. Mar (cockatoo), who lived in the east, hid fire, they think, under the crest of feathers on his head. In order that they might take it from him, they arranged a corrobboree. A kangaroo was killed and a choice piece of it offered to Mar, who, however, refused it, but accepted the skin. This he took away to his camp. An active little fellow named Prite followed him, concealing himself in the grass. He watched patiently, and at last Mar put his hand to his head and took the fire out. Then he went back and told the others. Tatkanna (robin) set out to discover more about the matter, but went too near and got his breast scorched by the fire—hence the reason why his breast is red! However, he managed to get hold of a fire-stick as Mar was singeing the hair off the skin. This he carried away, setting fire to the long grass. Mar tried in vain to beat it out, and rushed off to the camp. There he challenged Tatkanna to fight, but Quartang (laughing jackass) took up his quarrel, but he soon had enough and flew up into the trees, where he remains.[2]

Other legends deal with the origin of the sun. In the olden days an emu lived in the clouds and was possessed of very long wings. Being interested in the native dances, one day she came down and explained that she wished to learn dancing. An old courtenie (native companion) replied that she would never dance while she had such long wings. She consequently allowed her wings to be cut, but, alas, only to see the courtenies spread their wings, which they had carefully folded so as to conceal them from view, and immediately fly off. Later on the emu had a big brood. The

[1] "Native Tribes, Central Australia," pp. 446, 447.
[2] N. W. Thomas, "Natives of Australia," p. 247.

courtenie saw her coming and at once hid her own chicks with the exception of one. She then commiserated her on having so large a family, and advised her to kill them before she died of over-work. So the emu destroyed her brood. Then the courtenie called "Geralka beralka," and out came all her chicks. This time she suffered for her misdeeds, by getting her neck twisted so that she could only utter two discordant notes.

Next season, when the emu was sitting on a fresh clutch, the courtenie came up, pretending to be very friendly. The tormented emu made a wild rush at her, but the courtenie hopped over her back and broke all her eggs except one. Making a second rush the courtenie seized the remaining egg and hurled it up into the sky. There it hit a great pile of wood, which a sky-being, Ngoudenout, had been collecting for some time. The wood at once burst into flames, flooding the earth with light. This so alarmed the two birds that they composed their quarrel. The courtenie, however, has never lost her twisted neck or regained her beautiful voice, and the emu has ever since had very short wings and only one egg.

Ngoudenout saw what an advantage it would be to the world to have the sun; so ever since he has lit the fire again every day. When it is first lighted in the morning it does not give out very much light or heat; and in the evening, when the wood pile is burnt out, it gets cold again. The period of darkness is employed by Ngoudenout in collecting wood for the next day's fire.[1]

This story in various forms is found in many parts of Victoria and New South Wales. There are, needless to say, numerous other sun myths current among the Australian tribes. In these women figure largely. Since it is a woman's province to carry fire-sticks and

[1] Op. cit., pp. 247–249.

make the camp fire, most of the legends regard the sun as a woman. During the day her fire-stick blazes up. At night the woman disappears under the arm of another woman, and it consequently becomes dark.

Some of the North-West natives show the actual hole into which the sun falls at night. It goes right under the earth and comes up again out of another hole in the morning. The aborigines in the Kimberley district account for the setting sun by saying that he goes into a big forest under the earth at night in order to secure a fresh supply of fuel. Having obtained it, he comes up again and re-kindles his fire.

Before concluding primitive mythological lore, a question that is occupying the minds of anthropologists in a supreme degree at the moment and calling forth an animated controversy, demands attention. How comes it about that the same myths with practically the same symbolism exist all over the world? Identical stories are to be found in races as far removed from one another as the Bushmen and the Australians, the Eskimos and the Polynesians. Two explanations are possible to account for this uniformity of belief. (i) A unity of mental process throughout the race called into play by similar conditions, finds expression in similar cult-practices and mythological-lore. (ii) Professor Elliot Smith, Dr. Rivers, Mr. Perry and others, however, practically altogether deny the doctrine of the independent origin of customs and beliefs. Elliot Smith thinks that inventiveness and originality are qualities so exceptional that whenever similar cult-practices or myths are found in different parts of the earth the only possible explanation is to regard them as evidence of race-contact. Thus, he denies altogether the possibility that cultural or mythological resemblances may be due to the common tendencies of the human mind, called into play by similar conditions.

Accordingly, in his "Migrations of Early Culture," he is content to plot out on rough maps the distribution of ten associated customs and beliefs to mark the path of the dolmen-builders, after their migration from Egypt, the hypothetical original centre of the culture-complex. As far as the erection of megalithic monuments is concerned, it is by no means unreasonable to suppose that they are the work of one race. Their uniformity of structure and distribution along the coast-lands of Asia, etc., at a given time (the end of the neolithic and the beginning of the bronze age) suggest that they are due to the migration of a single "People of the Dolmens." That they are not the result of culture contact is evident from the fact that primeval man was not given to traffic in sacred rites and religious customs. But granting that these stone monuments, and perhaps the practice of mummification, are due to the distribution of a particular race from a single centre, it by no means follows that there is no such thing as the independent origin of customs and beliefs. Professor Elliot Smith includes the deluge myth in his "heliolithic" culture-complex. Now is there sufficient evidence to prove that the distribution of this story is entirely due to racial contact? True, legends relating to a flood are common in many parts of the world, and, perhaps, especially in the regions in which the "heliolithic" culture is found. It should, however, be remembered in this connexion that in Egypt, and in Africa generally, deluge myths are rare, and that they have not been discovered in Japan.

Now how did these stories arise? In many cases they are undoubtedly the traditions of local inundations, frequent in some districts owing to seismic action, violent storms, or even perhaps to the final disappearance of the glacial period. Legends would speedily arise to explain the phenomena, and a local

flood would soon become a universal deluge clothed in appropriate mythological garb. The discovery of shells and fossil fish on the tops of hills and other spots far from the sea would also suggest that once these places were the beds of a mighty ocean.[1] The Polynesians and Melanesians have regarded the waters with which they are surrounded as the remains of a primeval deluge. The well-known story in Genesis has been explained by Huxley and Jastrow as originating in a local inundation of the Lower Euphrates—an event that not infrequently takes place when the snow in the upper basin melts in spring, and after an earthquake or heavy rains. This view seems to be far more reasonable than that put forth by the late Professor Prestwich that a land submergence in Western Europe and North-West Africa caused a great inundation of the sea at the end of the palaeolithic age, destroying numbers of men, and all but the light-footed animals. The absence of geological evidence, or of any mention of such an event in African folk-lore, makes the theory highly improbable.

Another origin of deluge myths may be due to the mind of primitive man seeking an explanation of the beginning of such natural phenomena as lakes and inland seas, the distribution of races and the diversity of language. Thus, the American Indians account for the origin of land by an animal, in some former time, having dived down into the primeval flood and brought it up with his feet. Likewise some of the natives of Western Australia explain the origin of "black" and "white" races in terms of a deluge myth.[2]

No doubt myths are often distributed by racial contact, as, for example, that particular form of the deluge

[1] Tylor, "Early History of Mankind," pp. 325 ff.; cf. Hall, "Life with the Eskimos," ii., p. 318.

[2] Smyth, "Aborigines of Victoria," i, p. 430.

myth that was indigenous in Babylon and transplanted, in later times, to Palestine. But it does not follow that all stories relating to a flood—or any other myths—can be traced to a common origin. Enough has been said to show that the deluge myth is rather the result of a unity of mental process called into play by similar conditions (inundations, hypothetical explanations of natural phenomena and racial conditions, etc.). It would therefore appear that at least one of the elements in the "heliolithic culture-complex" does not support the view advocated by Professor Elliot Smith, though, of course, it does not necessarily follow that the same is true of the allied practices and beliefs.

It seems more in accordance with anthropological evidence to regard mythology largely as the outcome of certain ritual acts. The savage is a man of action rather than of words and theories, and therefore he usually acts before he thinks. It is only in process of time, when his actions require justification and explanation, that a myth is invented to meet the needs of the case. Thus, a golden age or Alcheringa gradually came into being to explain the time-honoured conventions and rigidly-observed rituals. In this "Dream-time" the supernormal race of Alcheringa folk that inhabited the earth, taught men the arts of life, framed the laws, originated the tribal rites, modified the face of the earth, went on long journeys over the country, and were possessed with powers superior to those of the medicine-men of to-day. They were, in one way or another, connected with or developed from, the totem animals, vegetables and other objects, and finally, when they "went down into the earth," rocks and trees arose to mark the spot. Thus myths came into being as religious stories to explain natural phenomena and sanction customs otherwise inexplicable to the primitive mind.

Mythology may be regarded as the key to the dramatic

representations of emotions and desires, on which so much depends in savage communities. As belief came to play a more important part in religion, through the development of the human mind, there was a tendency to systematize and moralize these stories. Thus the doctrine of an Alcheringa folk or *Mura muras* probably developed into polytheism such as is common in ancient Greece. It is therefore not surprising to find a remarkable similarity to the adventures of the Alcheringa folk in some of the Greek myths. For instance the Greek legends suppose that in the beginning heaven and earth—regarded as husband and wife—were indissolubly united, and between them they begat gods, who never saw the light. A number of monsters were born from elemental powers, and the divine species was continued by the marriage of Rhea and Cronus. The gods assume animal forms : Rhea becomes a mare, Cronus a horse, and Zeus —the offspring of Rhea—begets separate families of men in the shape of a bull, a serpent, an ant, and a swan. From him several of the royal houses claimed descent in the form of one or other of his manifestations (ant, swan, etc.). Here surely is a survival of the primitive custom of regarding the various groups of men and women as having originated in animals and plants with which they are still in mystic sympathy. Zeus, it is true, in due course became an anthropomorphic deity— the "All-Father"—but only by the original savage myth becoming more complex and picturesque. Similar stories are found among the Maoris of New Zealand, the Polynesians, and in ancient Egyptian mythology.

In primitive cult the All-Father, who, like the conception of an Alcheringa, occupies a prominent place in early mythological lore, is remote and unconcerned with the doings of men except so far as the sound of the bull-roarer and other ceremonies, duly performed,

give him pleasure. In more developed culture gods are thought to be attentive when, in times of extremity, man cries to them. Viewed in the light of later developments, mythology, in its representation of a golden past when gods and spirits lived on the earth and organized the social and religious institutions, is the product of the religious nature of man.

It is not only in order to give authority to accepted rites and customs that myths arise. It sometimes happens, as has been shown, that an individual passes into an ecstatic state and dances a new dance or performs a new ceremony. The gestures are handed on from performer to performer and from tribe to tribe, till the original significance of the performance is entirely lost, if, in fact, it were ever known. It is therefore necessary to invent stories to explain the meaningless rites. Likewise, when events long since forgotten, connected with the chase or blood-revenge, are re-enacted time after time as dramatic representations, myths relating to the " brave days of old " grow up to explain the now meaningless commemorative ritual. Thus, in conclusion, it may be said, that from this brief survey of primitive mythological lore it appears that the theory of Robertson Smith that myth was originally derived from ritual, not ritual from myth, is in the main true, though there may be exceptions to the rule.

CHAPTER XII

THE BEGINNING OF THEISM

The evidence for "High Gods among low races."—Atnatu in the Kaitish Nurrundere of the Narrinyeri—Nurelli of the Wiimbaio—Bunjil of the Wotjobaluk—Baiame, the All-Father of the Kamilaroi, not a creation of the missionaries—The evidence for and against prayer being offered to Baiame—Daramulun of the Yuin and other coastal tribes—Koin, Maamba, Pirral, Kohin—The function of the All-Father—His relation to spirits. The belief in High Gods among other primitive people (Melanesians, Andamanese, Bantu, Bushmen)—The origin of All Fathers—Monotheism among the Hebrews—The Yahweh cult—The realization of Messianic expectations.

IN 1898 Mr. Andrew Lang called attention to a class of facts hitherto overlooked by anthropologists. In "The Making of Religion," he gives an account of "High Gods of low races," as distinct from the idea of ghost or spirit. Formerly it had been generally supposed that the "ideas of god and of the soul are the result of early fallacious reasonings about misunderstood experiences." Each man was believed to have a ghost or soul, which could temporally leave the body and appear elsewhere in any other body. Thus, according to Tylor, the first philosophy of nature, called by him "animism," arose from naïve thinking about visions of dreams and trances, the phenomena of sleep and hallucination, comparisons of life with death, and health with sickness. At death the spirit was formed, which, unlike the soul, may enter and inhabit permanently (not temporarily as with the soul) any organism. In this way animism is made "the groundwork of the

philosophy of religion, from that of savages up to that of civilized man. . . . In its full development, it includes the belief in controlling deities and subordinate spirits, in souls, and in a future state, these doctrines practically resulting in some kind of active worship." [1] This he describes as the " minimum definition of religion."

In the second volume of " Primitive Culture," he passes from the fundamental doctrine of souls to the derived doctrine of spirits. " The doctrine of souls founded on the natural perception of primitive man, gave rise to the doctrine of spirits. . . . The conception of a human soul served as a type or a model on which he framed not only his idea of other souls of lower grade, but also his idea of spiritual beings in general, from the tiniest elf that sports in the long grass up to the heavenly Creator." [1]

The evidence of the belief in a High God or, as Howitt terms him, an All-Father, in Australia, is sufficient evidence of itself to show that the theory of Tylor and Herbert Spencer which explains the Supreme Being in primitive cult, as merely the idea of spirit or ghost, carried to the highest power, is no longer tenable. It has already been demonstrated that in the Australian myths the High God is represented as existing before Death entered the world, and that he still exists in the sky. He is seldom conceived as a spirit. He is simply an eternal being, who lived long on the earth, which he is often supposed to have had a share in creating, and then went to his own place, whence he watches over the natives and their conduct, especially during the initiation ceremonies. Atnatu, believed in by the Kaitish tribe, is a good example of such a supreme Being. He arose up in the sky in the very far back past—further back even than the Alcheringa. He made himself and

[1] " Primitive Culture," I, xi., 38, 386.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 99, 100.

gave himself his name, and he has another sky and another sun beyond the place in which he lives. The stars are his lubras, and he also calls his daughters "kurallia" (stars) but his sons he calls Atnatu. Before the Alcheringa times he had plenty of sons and daughters in the sky, but he was very angry with a number of them because they did not treat him properly. They gave him no Churinga and did not perform sacred ceremonies for him, as they ought to have done, so he threw them down to the earth, into the Kaitish country, dropping them through a hole in the sky. He sent down everything that the black fellow has—spears, boomerangs, tomahawks, clubs, etc. In the sky, where he lives, he makes Intichiuma and eats everything. He is glad when he hears the sound of the bull-roarer, as the natives initiate the boys, but he is angry and punishes them if they do not sound the sacred object at initiation ceremonies, by hurling spears down and dragging the boys and men up into the sky. The women know nothing about Atnatu but think that the roaring of the bull-roarers is the voice of a spirit called Tumana, who plays the part of Twanyirika among the Arunta.[1]

The "ghost theory" of Herbert Spencer or the "animistic theory" of Tylor breaks down when it encounters High Gods like Atnatu: and more especially is this the case when either of these theories is viewed in the light of Howitt's evidence from the tribes in the south-east of Australia. He says, "altogether apart from the 'Mura-mura,' Alcheringa ancestors, or the "Muk-Kurnai" is the supernatural anthropomorphic being in whom the tribes of the south-east of Australia believe, under different names."[2] The Narrinyeri call the Supreme Being Nurrundere or Martum-

[1] "Northern Tribes of Central Australia," pp. 498–499.

[2] "Native Tribes of South-eastern Australia," pp. 488 ff.

mere. He is said to have made all things on the earth, and to have given to men the weapons of war and hunting, and to have instituted all the rites and ceremonies which are practised by the aborigines. *Nurrundere* is the ultimate authority for all magico-religious customs, and is therefore treated with great reverence. He is thought to have gone to *Wyirra-warre* (the sky), taking his children with him.

The Wiimbaio regard Nurelli as the Creator of the whole country, with the rivers, trees, and animals. He gave to the blacks their laws, and finally ascended to the sky, where they point him out as one of the constellations. His place of ascension is supposed to be at Lake Victoria, on the north side of the river Murray, about fifty miles from Wentworth. Pirnmeleeal, a gigantic person living above the clouds, is the counterpart of Nurelli in the tribes of south-west Victoria.

Bunjil is the All-Father of the Wotjobaluk. He is spoken of as *Mami-ngorak*, that is, "Our Father," and is considered to dwell beyond the sky. In this tribe there are no initiation ceremonies of the *Bora* type. The medicine men generally keep to themselves certain beliefs as to *Mungan-ngaua*, Daramulun, or Baiame from the uninitiated. The Kulin think that Bunjil is an old man who taught them the arts of life, made the earth, trees, and men, and is the embodiment of wisdom and knowledge. According to one legend, he regulated the marriage system of the tribe. Another story tells how Bunjil held out his hand to the sun and warmed it, and the sun warmed the earth, which opened, emanating black-fellows who danced his corrobboree called *Gayip*. At this ceremony images curiously carved in bark were exhibited. He was also spoken of as "Our Father" in the Woeworung tribe, and by the old women among the Kurnai. The initiated of this latter tribe are told that he lived long ago on the earth, and taught

the Kurnai to make implements, nets, canoes, weapons, and, in fact, everything that they do and know. He gave them their names, and, on one occasion, when some one revealed the secrets to the women, he sent his fire, the Aurora Australis, with most disastrous results. Then the sea rushed over the land and nearly all mankind was drowned. Those who survived became the *Muk-Kurnai*, the rest being turned into animals, birds, reptiles, fishes, etc. He then left the earth and ascended into the sky, where he still remains.[1]

Baiame, the well-known All-Father of the Kamilaroi, was first definitely described by Mr. James Manning, who began his researches in the district about 1833, before Melbourne existed or missionaries had made their influence felt in that part of the country. Unfortunately he described the All-Father in terms of Christian theology, and thus transforms him and his son Grogorally into close conformity with the first two Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Apart from his Christian terminology, Manning's account of Baiame is in the main corroborated by Mrs. Langloh Parker. "I was first told of Byamee (usually spelled Baiame) in whispers," she says, "by a very old native, Yudtha Dullubah (bald head), said to have been already grey-haired when Sir Thomas Mitchell discovered the Narran in 1846. My informant said that he was instructed as to Byamee in his first Boorah, or initiation. If he was early grey, say at thirty, in 1846, that takes his initiation back to 1830, when, as a matter of fact, we have contemporary evidence to the belief in Byamee, who is not of missionary importation, though after 1856 Christian ideas may, through Mr. Ridley's book ('Gurre Kamilaroi') have been attached to his name by educated Kamilaroi. But he was a worshipful being, revealed in the mysteries,

[1] "Native Tribes of South-eastern Australia," pp. 489–493.

long before missionaries came, as all my informants aver." [1]

Baiame is to the Kamilaroi what the Alcheringa is to the Arunta. He lived in the "Dream Time" and changed birds and beasts into men and women, made other folk of clay or stone, taught them everything, and left laws for their guidance, then returned to the sky, whence he, and the two women who accompanied him, came and still exist. The origin of myths and rites is assigned to Baiame. "Because Baiame says so," is the phrase in this district that corresponds to the Arunta expression, "it was so in the Alcheringa." At the Bora ceremony he is proclaimed as the "Father of All," whose laws the tribes are now obeying. "A Wiradjuri myth makes him the original source of all the totems, and of the marriage laws. The chief wife of Baiame, Birrahgnooloo, is claimed as the mother of all; for she, like him, had a totem for each part of her body; no one totem can claim her, but all do. She too is partially crystallized above the sky; the upper parts of their bodies are on the earth.

Mrs. Parker maintains that on two occasions prayers were made to Baiame: (1) at the Bora ceremony; (2) at the graveside of an initiated man.[2] In (1) he is asked to let the blacks live long, since they have kept his ceremony, the Bora; in (2) to let the soul of the departed enter "Bullimah" (heaven), since he has kept the Bora laws. This is the only evidence of definite prayer to an All-Father in Australia, although the dance of the medicine-men around the life-sized figure of Daramulun, shouting the name of the god, may constitute a primitive form of prayer. The Dieri custom of calling upon the rain-making *Mura-muras* to give them power to make a heavy rain fall, calling out in loud voices the impoverished state of the country, and the half-starved condi-

[1] "Euahlayi Tribe," p. 5. [2] Op. cit., pp. 8, 9, 79, 80.

tion of the tribe in consequence, is a case of prayer being made to a mythical being (as distinct from an All-Father).[1]

Dr. Marett thinks that Mrs. Parker's evidence of prayer among the Euahlayi is contaminated by missionary influence.[2] Ridley's use of Baiame as a term for God the Father makes it easy to conclude that the Euahlayi rites and customs are due to a proselytizing tendency in the immediate vicinity, and that the instruction in the art of praying to the High God is but the outcome of the missionary exploitation of the name of Baiame. However, as Mr. Andrew Lang points out in his reply to Dr. Marett, Mrs. Parker has recorded earlier versions of what she heard about prayer among the Euahlayi in her "Legendary Tales."[3] Furthermore, the nearest mission station was a hundred miles away and was founded after she settled among the tribe. This latter fact is of importance when it is remembered that her chief informants were the old men.[4] A point of theological interest is raised by one of the prayers consisting of a petition for the repose of the soul of the departed man. It is highly improbable that this particular prayer would have proceeded from Mr. Ridley's influence. On the other hand Dr. Marett's view is supported by the fact that the Euahlayi rites were in a state of decay, and, judging from the heavy penalties that were inflicted on natives who failed to keep the ceremonies of Baiame, it is reasonable to suppose that a proselytizing influence was at work in the neighbourhood.

Notwithstanding the controversy that has raged round Baiame, Tylor's theory that the All-Father was a creation of the missionaries between 1830 and 1840,

[1] Howitt, "South-Eastern Tribes," 394–396.
[2] "Man," VII, pp. 2, 3, 114, 115.
[3] Op. cit., pp. 67–69.
[4] "Euahlayi Tribe," p. 2.

is clearly untenable. Missionaries were only temporarily in the Wellington valley before 1831. In 1823 the Rev. George Clark, who was sent out by the Church Missionary Society to join the New Zealand mission, was detained at Sydney and placed in charge of an institution projected by the New South Wales Government for the instruction of aborigines, near Parramatta. Mr. Clark, however, did not remain very long in the district. Two years later a priest and a schoolmaster were sent out as the result of an urgent appeal, but, for reasons which need not be considered here, neither of them actually took up the work. In 1828 a Wesleyan mission was established in the neighbourhood, and in 1831 the Rev. J. C. Handt and the Rev. W. Watson, who were shortly afterwards joined by the Rev. J. Gunther, began an Anglican mission. In 1836, Mr. Handt proceeded to Moreton Bay. Unhappily the work both in the Wellington valley and at Moreton Bay was a failure, and in 1842 it had to be abandoned. In 1840 the Rev. George King arrived at Freemantle in West Australia, and soon commenced an excellent work under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It was reserved for him to have the privilege of receiving the first of the native children into the Church by Baptism, and therefore he may be regarded as the real founder of the aboriginal Church. In 1849 he was compelled, through ill-health, to give up the work. It was not till 1853 that the first adult natives—ten men and one woman—were baptized at Boonindie. The first Roman Catholic missionaries—two Spanish Benedictine monks, Dom Joseph Serra and Dom Rosenda Salvado—landed at Freemantle on January 8, 1846. In February of the following year they set forth to their work among the natives, about seventy miles north-east of Perth, at New Norcia (Murrin), where they erected a monastery, and opened a school in 1848.

It will therefore be seen that up to 1840 the influence of Christianity was hardly felt at all among the natives of Australia, and it was not until 1855 that Ridley published "Gurre Kamilaroi." It is therefore impossible to assume that Baiame was the creation of the missionaries between 1830 and 1840, since Mr. Henderson gives an account of "Piame" (Baiame) and the initiation ceremonies over which he presides, in 1829—three years before any missionaries came to those parts. Mrs. Parker's informant is said to have been instructed as to Baiame at his initiation about 1830, and Manning's account of the All-Father was written in 1844 after ten years' work among the aborigines. "For the first four or five years or more of that earliest time," he says, (i.e. ten years before he made the notes), "there was no church south of the little one at Bong-bong at Mittagong. . . . No missionary ever came to the southern districts at any time, and it was not until many years later that the missionaries landed at Sydney on their way to Moreton Bay." [1] (It is not quite clear as to which "landing at Sydney" he refers. As has been pointed out above Clark was detained there in 1823, and Handt, in 1836, proceeded to Moreton Bay. Since Manning did not begin his work till 1833, he seems hardly correct in saying that "it was not until many years later that missionaries landed at Sydney").

It was no doubt due to Ridley's Christian terminology that Dr. Tylor put forth his view of the origin of Baiame. The account certainly shows markedly Christian characteristics. He refers to the god as dwelling in a "heaven of beautiful appearance, seated on a throne of transparent crystal, and aided by his son *Grogorally*, and by the second mediator, in the supernatural person, of their

[1] J. Manning, "Royal Society of New South Wales," Nov. 1882.

intercessor *Moodgegally*.[1] It should, however, be remembered that the visit of the medicine-man to the camp of Baiame, quoted on good authority, bears a striking resemblance to Christian apocalyptic literature.

Among the Yuin and other coastal tribes Daramulun is the All-Father. Long ago he lived on the earth with his mother *Ngalalbal*. The earth was then bare, with only animals, birds, and reptiles living upon it. He placed trees on the barren ground, and, after Kaboka, the thrush, had caused a great flood to cover all the coastal country, no people were left, excepting some who crawled out of the water on to Mount Dromedary. Then Daramulun went up into the sky, where he lives and watches the actions of men. It was he who first made the *Kuringal* (Yuin initiation ceremonies) and the bull-roarer, the sound of which represents his voice. He told the Yuin what to do, and he gave them the laws which the old people have handed down from father to son to this time. He gives the *Gommeras* their powers to use the *Joias*, and other magic. When a man dies and his *Tulugal* (spirit) goes away, it is Daramulun who meets it and takes care of it. It is a man's shadow which goes up to Daramulun. Such are the beliefs which are taught at the Yuin *Kuringal*, and as the Ngarigo tribe attend these ceremonies, they too believe the same.[2]

The Lake Macquarie tribes believe in a supernatural being called Koin, who lives in the *Kuling* (Milky Way). In the Herbert River district Maamba, Birral, and Kohin represent High Gods, according to Dr. Howitt.[3]

There is good *prima facie* evidence for the existence of the All-Father belief in the south-eastern tribes. In

[1] Howitt, "South-eastern Tribes," pp. 501–502.
[2] Howitt, "South-eastern Tribes," pp. 494–495.
[3] Op. cit., pp. 497–499.

the central area, though the evidence is less conclusive, there appears to be a belief in a being not unlike Baiame. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, however, say, "we know of no tribe in which there is a belief of any kind in a supreme being who rewards and punishes the individual according to his moral behaviour, using the word moral in the native sense." [1] They maintain that Twanyirika of the Arunta and Unmatjeri of the Binbingas are merely bogeys to frighten the women and children, and to keep them in a state of subjection. But does it necessarily follow that because the Central and Northern tribes *now* teach their boys at initiation that the All-Father is merely a myth, that they always did so? May it not be, as Dr. Jevons suggests, that belief in the All-Father was the original or earlier belief that degenerated into a mere survival when faith in it, for whatever reason, was lost.[2] As a matter of fact, disbelief pre-supposes the existence of the belief since it could hardly be disbelieved before it existed. This conclusion is supported by Spencer and Gillen's evidence from the Kaitish tribe. These people believe in a spirit individual called Atnatu who made the Alcheringa and stands in a real relation to the initiation ceremonies, for he is pleased when he hears the sound of the bull-roarer, and is angry when it is not swung. Strehlow finds a sky-being named Altjira Mara (the Good), known to the southern Arunta The neighbouring tribe, the Loritja, have a similar being, Tukura, indifferent except as to rites.[3] Gillen also discovered a sky-dwelling being among the Arunta, named "the great Uthaana of the heavens." Nothing is said of his functions except that the spirits of the dead ascend to him, and are cast by him into the sea,

[1] "Northern Tribes," p. 491.
[2] "Religion in Evolution," p. 17.
[3] "Mythen, Sagen, und Märchen des Aranda Stammes," 1907, Vol. I.

whence they are rescued by two minor Ulthaana, and thenceforth live with the lesser Ulthaana.[1] It is therefore open to question how far the account given by Spencer and Gillen on this subject is exhaustive. On the west coast, between Geraldton and Albany, the evidence is scanty. However, a being called Mamma Gnara, Father of all, is reverenced in this region.[2] The Cape River tribes are said to believe in a sky-being, to whom good men go when they die.[3] It will therefore be seen that the All-Father belief is very widely distributed in Australia. Mr. N. W. Thomas is of the opinion that "it can hardly be definitely asserted that there is or was any tribe which had not some such belief."[4]

This supplementary evidence not only suggests the universality of belief in the All-Father but also that the ideas of the Northern and Central tribes are the results of a degradation from an earlier and more primitive conception as set forth by the South-Eastern tribes, so ably studied by Mr. Howitt. A parallel case has been found by Mr. Nassau among certain Bantu tribes in Africa. Here the negroes in the interior genuinely believe in an All-Father, Ukuku, while elsewhere the whole proceeding connected with the spirit is known to be a "gigantic lie."'[5] It is a far cry from Australia to Western Africa, and yet there is an almost identical belief among the natives of either country regarding High Gods. Certain sections of the people believe that the God of the Mysteries made them, gave them their laws, and preserves all things, while others regard the spirit merely as a bogey to frighten the women and

[1] "Horn Expedition," iv., p. 183.
[2] "Trans. Royal Society South Australia," xvi., p. 488.
[3] Curr, "Australian Race," iii., p. 146.
[4] "Natives of Australia," p. 224.
[5] "Fetichism in West Africa," p. 140.

children, having nothing to do with moral conduct. Among the Bantu peoples there is a fairly universal belief in an All-Father as a Creator (Nzame), though " these religious ideas have practically no influence now on the ordinary life." [1] There is, in short, a general tendency to degeneration from the more lofty conceptions associated with the All-Father belief in primitive times. There can be little doubt that the doctrine once was not without influence on the ordinary life of those who held it, and yet to-day religion and morality are often divorced in Australia. Furthermore, it seems highly improbable that there never was a time when some cult or ritual was connected with the High God, inasmuch as he now appears to be the central figure in the initiation ceremonies among the South-East tribes of Australia, and is intimately associated with the bull-roarer that plays so important a part in these rites in the Central area.

Jevons thinks that prayers and sacrifices were part of the original " worship " of the All-Father belief in Australia,[2] citing Mrs. Parker's evidence from the Euahlayi tribe to show that prayer was once offered to Baiame. On this hypothesis both the Intichiuma and Initiation rites are descended from a ritual in which the doctrine taught was belief in the All-Father, and in which the rites observed consisted in a sacrifice or sacramental meal. Thus, the religious element is supposed to have evaporated, in the case of the Northern and Central tribes, from both ceremonies. Certainly survivals of such a belief are not altogether lacking, as has been shown, in the Initation rites, and it may be conjectured that the ceremonial eating of the totem animal or plant,

[1] M. Allegret, " Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," pp. 223-226.

[2] " Introduction to Study of Comp. Rel.," p. 101 ; Op. cit., pp. 31 ff.

which at the present day is magical in intent, was originally associated with the All-Father belief. If totemism has survived conspicuously in the Intichiuma ceremonies, it also survives in the instruction of the boys when they are initiated into the tribal totemic mysteries over which the All-Father presides in the South-Eastern tribes. Thus totemism is a common feature of both Intichiuma and Initiation ceremonies, and therefore there is no *à priori* reason why there should not be some system of ritual and belief from which both are derived. It has been elsewhere shown that the magical control of the food quest is not the original purport of the Intichiuma rites. It is therefore possible that Jevons is correct in supposing that these ceremonies represent a survival of a primitive sacrificial meal over which the All-Father presided much in the same way as Daramulun is now the God of the Mysteries among certain tribes in the South-Eastern area of Australia.

Associated with the All-Fathers of the south-east district is often an evil being, and a set of mythical beings—the *Mura-mura*, etc. Henderson thinks that *Mudgegong* is an evil spirit, who, after having derived his existence from Baiame, declared war upon him and now endeavours with all his powers to frustrate his undertakings." [1] It must be remembered, however, that it is by no means easy for an uninitiated European observer to get any really accurate information on sacred subjects from the natives, and therefore it is quite possible that Henderson was mistaken, and Mudgegong is really the counterpart of Daramulun, since he is the embodiment of the eagle-hawk. Another account makes Wandong—one of the sons of Baiame—the author of evil,[2] and a third makes Daramulun himself the

[1] "Notes," p. 147.
[2] Macarthur, "New South Wales," p. 301.

evil one.[1] The Herbert River tribes, according to Curr, believe in Boorala, the good spirit, and Goin, a live spirit, who is supplied with claws like an eagle-hawk and feet like an alligator. Other evil spirits are Brewin among the Kurnai ;[2] Jou in south Australia ; Koochie among the Dieri, Jingi in West Australia, Coen at Port Stephen.[3]

Father Schmidt considers that these myths are the result of racial conflicts. Where the crow race was victorious, Bunjil (eagle-hawk) is defeated ; elsewhere Mudgegong (eagle-hawk) is also defeated but not by the crow.[4] The same writer has divided the All-Fathers of Australia into three classes : (1) The belief in an All-Father pure and simple, as in the case of Mungan-ngaua of the Kurnai. (2) The belief in an All-Father who has taken over the features of a tribal ancestor, as, for example, the Wolgal view of Daramulun. (3) The belief in a being who is also a Creator, sometimes governing the world through an intermediary subordinate. Bunjil and Baiame belong to this third category.

Fr. Schmidt bases his theory on complex considerations of totemic organization. He assumes the existence of a primary dark race, represented by the crow, from which the eagle-hawk and emu have sprung. Daramulun and Baiame were originally, he thinks, tribal heroes of the invaders. This view is supported by the Minkin belief that Baiame came from Warderah and taught them the initiation ceremonies.[5] The Mikadoons also think that Baiame came from an island outside Australia and instructed them as to initiation rites. Dr. Howitt has shown that the supernatural

[1] "Anthropos," iii.
[2] "J. A. I." iii., p. 191 ; xiv., p. 321 n. 2.
[3] "South-eastern Tribes," p. 496, and "Natives of Australia," pp. 224–226.
[4] "Anthropos," iii., 1908.
[5] "Australian Anthropological Journal," i., p. 14.

being called Kohin recognized by the Herbert River people, has a counterpart in Coen at Port Stephen in the south.[1] If these beings are identical the question of distance need be no barrier to the acceptance of the supposed belief in Baiame in the north of the continent, especially as this belief in the more northern tribes is that of a tribal hero rather than as an All-Father of the Creator type.

That there is a belief in " High Gods of low races " is now placed beyond question. From the above evidence it is clear that the conception of an All-Father is widely distributed in Australia, and that Tylor's view, representing such beings as the idea of ghost or spirit carried to the highest power, is no longer tenable. It is equally certain that the belief is not of European importation. The mere fact that this remarkable doctrine may have been used by missionaries to present the Christian development of faith in the Holy Trinity, is not an argument against the overwhelming evidence in favour of supposing that the All-Father conception is a part of the " esoteric " faith of man in a primitive state of culture. The existence of High Gods among low races was a most unfortunate discovery for anthropologists like Frazer who adopt a stratigraphical system of magico-religious development. Anthropomorphic beings could hardly exist in an age of magic, and since Frazer had assumed the Australians to be in this so-called preliminary stage of religious evolution, he was forced to abandon his theory or explain away the evidence in favour of an All-Father belief. He chose the latter course. After summarizing Howitt's conclusions he quotes Professor Sir Baldwin Spencer—" As to the ' discovery ' of a high ethical religion amongst the lowest savages, there is not, I am convinced, any such thing in Australia. The great difficulty is that we

[1] " Native Tribes of South-eastern Australia," pp. 496–498.

have had statements made on the authority of men like Gason. The latter was a police-trooper, I believe, who was perfectly honest, but at the same time perfectly incapable of dealing with matters such as these." He was, however, familiar with the native language as well as with the aborigines themselves. Frazer goes on to say: "In the days when the evidence of Baiame and Daramulun was collected, the importance of securing minute and detailed information was not realized." [1] A glance at the works of so eminent an anthropologist as Dr. Howitt—himself an initiated member of Australian society—is sufficient to nullify this argument, to say nothing of the researches of people like Mrs. Langloh Parker, Mr. Andrew Lang, Mr. N. W. Thomas, etc. Furthermore Professor Spencer himself has found an All-Father (Atnatu) among the Central tribes, though, for obvious reasons, he prefers to call the god a "spirit individual." Nevertheless he is a self-created being who made "everything that the black-fellow has," and no mere ghost or glorified ancestor.

Again, the belief in High Gods is not confined to Australia. It is found in some form in almost all early cults. The Andamanese think that Puluga—an invisible god who was never born and is immortal—created all things except evil. He knows the thoughts of men, is angered by sin (falsehood, theft, murder, adultery, bad carving of meat, and witchcraft). He is pitiful to those in distress, relieves the suffering, and judges the souls of men after death. He lives in a large stone house, eats and drinks, and is married to a green shrimp. Mr. Man, a recognized authority who lived in the Andaman Islands for eleven years, says that this belief is not due to missionary influence, as the natives always shot all foreigners, and have no traditions of aliens on the islands.[2]

[1] "Totemism and Exogamy," i., p. 148. [2] "J. A. I.," xii., p. 138.

Dr. Codrington supplies similar information from Melanesia. He says: "Beings of a more or less distinctly spiritual nature who at any rate have never been men, have their place in the beliefs and in the stories of the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides very much more than in the Solomon Islands. Koevasi in Florida and Kahausibware in San Cristoval belong to the latter group and may well be supposed to be the same personage under different names. Both were never human, yet in some way originators of the human race; both were females, both subject to stories, not objects of worship. . . . It was Kahausibware who made men, pigs, and other animals, cocoa-nuts, fruit-trees, and all the food with which the island is now furnished, and death had not yet appeared.[1] These beings certainly appear to be High Gods. Mr. Andrew Lang would also put in the same category the innumerable and unnamed "purely spiritual beings who are incorporeal" (*Vui*), mentioned by Codrington, with whom he disagrees in describing them as spirits. "A *Vui*," he says, "is not a spirit that has been a ghost," and therefore to avoid confusion of terms, he prefers to call them Beings or Gods.[2] There is some justification for this distinction, since one of the *Vui*—Qat by name—whose "place in the popular beliefs of the Banks Islanders was so high and so conspicuous that when the people first became known to Europeans it was supposed that he was their god, the supreme Creator of men and pigs and food. It is certain that he was believed to have made things in another sense from that in which men could be said to make them. To the present day a mother chides a fractious, sleepy child or one crying with hunger with the words, 'Do you think you are going to die? Don't you know that Qat made you so?' If a pig comes indoors to

[1] "Melanesia, p. 150.
[2] "Making of Religion," pp. 197–198.

sleep in bad weather, the man who drives it out says to it, ' Qat made you to stay outside.' . . . The regular course of the seasons is ascribed to him. . . . With all this it is impossible to take Qat very seriously or to allow him divine rank. He is certainly not the lord of spirits. . . . When he is said to create he is adding only to the furniture of the world in which he was born." [1]

Qat, then, is a Creator in the sense that he determines the regular courses of the seasons and adds to the furniture of the world. Yet since he only rearranges existing material it might be more correct to place him in a category of transformers. Supu, of the Melanesian island Vate, is perhaps a better example of a Creator pure and simple.

Numerous other examples of Supreme Beings as Creators have been cited in all parts of the uncivilized world. Among the Todas every clan has its god, who was the Creator and instructor of the people.[2] The Hawaiian Creators, Kanu and Tangaloa, are fully formed deities, like the Samoan Tangaloa.[3] The Maoris have divine figures of heaven and earth whose children were producers of all things in the world. On the west coast of Africa the Yorubans, a most advanced tribe with a well-developed Pantheon, have deities called Creators—Obatala, who made the first pair out of clay, and Ifa, the restorer of the world after the flood.[4] Lang in the preface to the new edition of " Myth, Ritual and Religion," ascribes creative functions to the New England Kichtan and the Virginian Oki ; and the Brazilian Tupan and Jurupari are regarded as divine Creators.[5]

Miss Mary Kingsley finds anthropomorphic beings

[1] Op. cit., pp. 154, 155.
[2] Rivers, " Todas," chap. xix.
[3] " Primitive Culture," 3rd Ed., ii., p. 344 ff.
[4] " Yoruba," p. 38 ff., p. 56 ff.
[5] " Encycl. Rel. Ethics," art. " Brazil."

among the Bantu. She says that the " god in the sense that we use the word is in essence the same in all the Bantu tribes I have met with on the coast ; a non-interfering and therefore a negligible quantity. . . . They regard their god as the Creator of men, plants, animals and the earth, and they hold that having made them, he takes no further interest in them."[1] The Bushmen, according to Qing, a native who had never seen a white man except fighting, recognize in Cagn the god who made all things. " He was at first very good but he got spoilt through fighting so many things." [2]

That prayers or sacrifices were offered to anthropomorphic beings is exceedingly doubtful, since they are usually conceived of as eternal, immortal, benevolent, and often creative beings who take little or no interest in human conduct except in matters of ritual. " Sacrifice and prayer," says Fr. Schmidt, become more and more numerous and more artificial in proportion as the idea of a Supreme Being grows dim." [3] It is to the Alcheringa ancestors, or the *Mura-mura* that the native turns in times of drought with requests for rain, and to supply reasons for his sacred rites, just as it is their adventures that he dramatically represents in his pantomimic dances. Thus, such beings, in the process of time, are sought after with sacrifice and prayer, while the All-Father, remote and in need of nothing that man can give, becomes a mere name, and is rarely propitiated by sacrifice.

It seems that Israel is the only exception to this neglect. By patriarch and prophet " the idea of a supreme and ethical Creator, Judge and Father was strenuously kept alive," [4] though often with great difficulty. This

[1] " Trades in West Africa," p. 442.
[2] " Making of Religion," p. 210.
[3] " Anthropos," iii., p. 604.
[4] " Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics," art. " God " (Lang).

" Peculiar People " appears to have been less curious than other nations concerning the dead and their propitiation, and less animistic ; they were therefore the more free to concentrate their religious instincts on the Eternal. Thus it may have come about that, while the foolish heart of the surrounding nations was darkened, the Jews preserved a primitive monotheism. It is, however, not to be inferred from this suggestion that currency is here given to Fr. Schmidt's theory of a primitive revelation in Australia.[1] Such a conclusion is highly improbable and certainly unprovable.

The theory of the origin of the All-Father is at most pure speculation. Lang thinks that Supreme Beings were conceived by way of answer to the question, " Why do we perform these rites ? " [2] If primitive man found himself performing certain ceremonies and subsequently looked about for an initiator, whom he found in the Corn Spirit, Baiame, or Manabozho, then ritual must have preceded myth. Dr. Marett suggests that the prototype of the divinities addressed as "Our Father " is nothing more nor less than the bull-roarer. " Its thunderous booming must have been eminently awe-inspiring to the first inventors, or rather discoverers, of the instrument, and would not unnaturally provoke the ' animistic ' attribution of life and power to it. Then mythology seems to have stepped in to explain why and how the bull-roarer enforces these tribal ceremonies with which it is associated." [3]

Against this view Mr. Lang has brought the objection that the bull-roarer is found where such beings are apparently unheard of.[4] Neither Althaana nor Altjira has anything to do with the bull-roarer. Furthermore,

[1] " Anthropos," iii., p. 559.
[2] " Making of Religion," 2nd Ed., xiv.
[3] " Threshold of Religion." pp. 16, 17.
[4] " Encyclop. of Rel. and Ethics," art. " God."

it is the thunderous voice of the god rather than the bull-roarer that inspires awe. It is true, however, that the bull-roarer and the All-Father are closely associated in initiation rites, and there may be some very vital connexion between the god and the instrument. In fact, among the Kaitish the bull-roarer is actually supposed to have dropped down from heaven. But there are a few cases in which All-Fathers are found in places where the bull-roarer is unknown.

Howitt thinks that Supreme Beings are idealized chiefs, but the connexion between an ideal head-man and an immortal Creator is not very apparent. It seems more probable that High Gods are the result of a psychological process whereby the mind of man tried to reach out to the Infinite and conceived a supreme, immortal, everlasting Creator—the prototype of Yahweh of the Hebrews. Be this as it may, it is evident that the Jews took over a pre-existing belief in One God. If the All-Father belief is really primitive and practically universal, and the Jews alone elevated their religion to that of pure monotheism, a very good reason is found for their becoming the "Chosen People."

Even if a primitive revelation could be proved to have taken place in Australia, the present All-Father belief could only be explained by a process of devolution because the conception of a Supreme Being in primitive cult is not monotheism in the sense understood by the Israelites. The Jews therefore remain the first to have formulated a definite belief in One God. On this hypothesis the choice was of their own making, and therefore the moral difficulties associated with the partiality of the Deity in choosing out one nation for a special revelation are removed. They had "kept themselves from idols," from worshipping the creature rather than the Creator, although there is evidence of their falling away from time to time and practising the

animism, polytheism, etc., of the surrounding nations and tribes. But as often as they fell so often were they shown the error of their ways and reclaimed. Thus, "Yahweh our God, Yahweh is One" [1] was the key-note from age to age of the religion of the Hebrews.

It is now placed beyond doubt that Israel took over a pre-existing belief in one God. However great a genius Moses may have been, he did not create a religion out of nothing. It is impossible to suppose that the tribes would have responded to the call of an unknown and untried god, such as has been suggested by Stade and Budde, who make Yahweh the God of the Kenites. Tradition is undoubtedly correct when it assumes that the God who spoke to Moses from the bush was not an unknown Deity, but "the God of thy father" and "the God of your fathers," Who had manifested Himself to the ancestors of the Hebrew race.

Now we know that the Semitic tribes akin to the Hebrews were polytheists in the sense that they believed in the existence of tribal deities, demons and spirits, although it has never been proved that they were polytheists in the strict sense of the word. They deified the sun, the moon, and the heavenly bodies. The storm-cloud, thunder, and natural forces were regarded as deities. As long as they pursued a pastoral life the sun was looked upon as malevolent and destructive, while the moon and stars were thought to be benevolent, since they appeared to revive the parched vegetation. But the intense tribal consciousness of the Semites tended in the direction of associating with each tribe or clan a definite deity to the exclusion of others. From this god the tribe imagined itself to be derived much as the Kaitish think they are the creation of Atnatu. Now this belief cannot be explained by Herbert Spencer's "Ghost theory" or Tylor's animism,

[1] Deut. vi. 4.

since ancestral animism and the cult of the dead were never tribal institutions amongst the Semites.[1] The origin must be sought in the universal doctrine of an All-Father.

A characteristic feature of the Semitic religions was the generic conception of divinity under the title of *'el* or *Elôhîm*. The tribal deity was known as *adon* (lord), *melek* (*king*), *baal* (owner). The meaning of *'el* is uncertain, but apparently it was used as an ideograph which might be added to any name to make it the name of a god. It was *'el* that manifested itself in various places and under various forms—a kind of mana attaching itself to curious or uncanny objects. Equally uncertain is the use of the plural *elôhîm* in Hebrew—also a generic term for the Deity, or universal divine nature. It is highly improbable that the expression as found in the Old Testament is a remnant of an original polytheism as Yahwism is the outcome of tribal and national monolatry rather than of polytheism. It is therefore better explained as a plural of majesty or an honorific plural used to express dignity and greatness, as in *Ădōnim*, "Lord". When it is employed to describe polytheistic deities it is invariably a real plural, whereas in the Old Testament it is used with a singular verb or adjective.

It therefore seems that Renan's theory, ascribing to the Semite patriarch from the earliest times a secret tendency towards monotheism,[2] has some foundation since the Semites recognized the existence of tribal deities, and therefore they were at least monolatrous and henotheistic. At the same time they show unmistakable polytheistic leanings, as the animistic side of the cult became more and more developed. With the

[1] Goldziher, "Le Culte des Ancêtres et des Morts chez Arabs in Revue de l'Hist. des Religions," x., 332.

[2] "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel," Bk. I., chap. i.

rise of animism there is always a deviation from the tribal All-Father, who is in need of nothing and takes little or no interest in human conduct, except in matters of ritual. It is to the Alcheringa ancestor or the spirits that the primitive mind turns in times of drought with requests for rain, and to supply a reason for sacred ceremonies, just as it is their adventures that he dramatically represents in his pantomimic dances. Thus, such beings in process of time become elevated into deities who are sought after with sacrifice and prayer, while the tribal All-Father, remote and in need of nothing that man can give, becomes a mere name, and is rarely propitiated by sacrifice. But Israel was incurious concerning the dead and their propitiation, and, therefore, they were the more free to concentrate effort on the conception of an "Our Father"—an idea obscured in Semitic cult by the rise of polytheism. Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that in the pre-Mosaic period the Hebrews had raised their religion from the polytheistic level of the surrounding nations and tribes, to a belief in an anthropomorphic Being not unlike the Australian conception of Baiame. Each tribe had its tribal god—Asher, Dan, Gad, etc.—over whom, from very remote times, Yahweh reigned supreme. He was the Lord, the Ruler, the Master.

The early Hebrew idea of the Deity supports this conclusion. In primitive times He is regarded as an anthropomorphic Being, a magnified non-natural man, possessed of body, parts and passions. He is said to have walked in the garden in the cool of the day and the sound of His step is heard (Gen. iii. 8), to have closed the door of the Ark (vii. 16), to have come down from His heavenly dwelling to see the tower which the people had built (xi. 5), to have wrestled with Jacob (xxxii. 16), to have visited Abraham in human form (xvii.), and written on the tables of stone (Exod. xxxii. 16).

In later times such naïve anthropomorphism gave place to loftier conceptions. In the wilderness "He walked with them in a tent and in a tabernacle," revealing Himself in the pillar of cloud and fire (Exod. xl. 38). Man cannot see Him face to face, but only His hinder parts. So the later writings take us farther and farther from the crude and primitive ideas of early times, till, in the story of Elijah, it is not in the cloud or the fire or the earthquake, but in the still small Voice speaking to the heart of man, that God manifests Himself to His servant (1 Kings xix. 12). Nevertheless, it is not in the prophetic period that ethical monotheism *originated*. Rather must it be explained in terms of evolution, as a gradual development from a primitive All-Father belief among the early Hebrews. First as an anthropomorphic Being, and later as the tribal Deity whose presence was localized in the Ark, Yahweh trains His people to accept the doctrine of an absolute monotheism to regard Him as the God Who loves, protects, and governs those who trust in Him. Thus, the remote tribal All-Father, in need of nothing that man can give, and taking little or no interest in the world and the creatures he created, gave place to purer ethical and metaphysical conceptions as the ethical-religious view of God and His relation to Israel and to humanity in general, together with the doctrine of the Messianic Kingdom, became clearer.

The Old Testament exhibits the way in which Yahweh dealt with a people who were ready to accept in the main monotheistic beliefs, as a father teaches his children, supplementing those religious ideas which were the result of contact with Semitic cults by purer and loftier spiritual conceptions, so that by the time the last book of the Old Testament was admitted into the Canon, the Jews had reached a stage of development that fully justified the Psalmist's assertion, "He hath not dealt so with any nation."

Thus, were the minds of those whom Dr. Hamilton calls the "New Israel," [1] prepared for the revelation of the Fatherhood of God. The ethical teaching of the prophets emphasized the moral purity of God; their Messianic expectations became more spiritualized and complex, until the supreme manifestation was vouchsafed in Him in Whom dwelt the fulness of God. The main light thus shone more purely and powerfully till all shadows of lesser deities were fled away, and the conceptions of Israel were fulfilled by Him Who came to be at once the Light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of His people Israel. By the Eternal Son assuming conditions of time the religious concept was satisfied that led primitive man to bring himself into union with the Divine by sacrifice and prayer to lesser supernatural beings. Thus Christianity, with its doctrine of the Trinity in unity of the Godhead, meets the entire need of man and thereby supplies that which was wanting in both Jewish monotheism and pagan polytheism.

[1] "The People of God."

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

The savage a man of action who " dances out his religion " —Ritual a " visible language " and the outward signs of inward emotions—The formulations of myths to explain rites—The Alcheringa—Private and public rites—The " minimum definition of religion." according to Tylor, Frazer, Herbert Spencer, Durkheim, Crawley, Marett—The conception of the sacred and the " ritual-tabu-mana formula " — Mana — Animatism, animism, anthropomorphism—The religious consciousness—The doctrine of " pre-logical mentality "—The unifying element in primitive cult—Was there a primitive revelation ? Union with God—The evolution of religion—The Incarnation.

THE aim of the foregoing pages was to give an account of primitive ritual and belief with special reference to the magico-religious customs of the Australian aborigines. Australia being the best-known and most extensive country inhabited by a very primitive race, it seemed that a careful examination of the ritual customs and the associated beliefs of this interesting people would be useful not only to the anthropologist but to the theologian, since much light can be thrown on the higher religions when viewed from the standpoint of primitive cult. Furthermore, Australia has been more carefully studied by competent investigators than almost any other region of the uncivilized world. By thus confining our attention to a really primitive field of research we hope to have avoided the pitfalls of a comparative survey of magico-religious phenomena, which is tempted to find everywhere analogies and identities by exaggerating irrelevant features and underrating the most essential ones in a given area.

The chief aim of the present study was to give a correct and detailed description of the principal customs and beliefs characteristic of primitive cult, and, in case of such important rites as those connected with sacrifice, to trace their evolution through the higher religions that the permanent and essential element may be discovered. It now remains to draw a few general conclusions from the foregoing evidence.

First as regards origins. Does the myth precede ritual, or have the various beliefs associated with sacred ceremonies arisen merely to explain the rites? Wilhelm Wundt [1] makes belief the ultimate source of ritual since the latter is but the former put into practice. There is, on this hypothesis, but one mythical idea at the back of all rites, namely, the idea of the soul from which magic, fetishism, and totemism have developed. Hubert and Mauss, on the other hand, start from the conception of rites.[2] Rites are traditional acts that are efficacious in a non-mechanical way involving the notion of mana. The same idea lies at the base of all ritual, magical and religious, the differentia consisting in magical rites not forming part of an organized cult, and therefore they tend to become illicit. It is probable that a universal precedence cannot be determined for either ritual or belief. There are cases in which mythological beliefs bring about ritual acts, as, for example, when an anthropomorphic being is offered gifts of food, etc., and approached with due respect because he is possessed of manlike qualities, and at the same time is all-powerful. But, generally speaking, ritual is evolved long before belief, since primitive man is wont to "dance out his religion." The savage does not find it easy to express his thoughts in words, and so he resorts to *visual language*. He thinks with his eyes rather than by articu-

[1] "Volkerpsychologie," Vol. II. Pt. II and III.
[2] "L'Année Sociologique," vii.

late sounds, and therefore the root feeling of primitive religion is arrived at through an investigation of ritual. When a savage wants a good harvest he does not keep "rogation days" with greater zeal but summons certain members of his tribe and holds an Intichiuma ceremony that the plants and animals by which he lives may multiply, or that refreshing showers may fall on the kindly fruits of the earth. True, the harvest rites are of a rather different character, but the spring ceremonies are an example of a visible representation of an intense desire. It is his will to live that the Australian utters and re-enacts when he repairs to Emily Gap, before the totems are plentiful. Likewise, when a group of people among the Arunta who have water for their totem symbolize the gathering of rain-clouds and the other accompaniments of a rising storm, it is not, as Frazer imagines,[1] to produce rain by imitating it, but simply to utter and represent an emotion and longing—to express in actions the thought that cannot be adequately described in words. It is not denied that such a rite as this contains an element of imitation, but only because the savage is a man of action who dances out his religion. When he wants to bring a thing to pass he does not, in the lowest culture, prostrate himself before the tribal All-Father, but gathers certain people together to perform magico-religious rites and thus express by action their inmost wishes and desires. Such ceremonies may be described as outward and visible signs of inward emotions and longings. It is this emotional and representative aspect of early ritual—the desire to act discharging itself on the symbol that Frazer's theory of imitative magic fails to take into account. Therefore ritual is not only the outward expression of thought, but also the vent of pent up emotions and activity.[2]

[1] "Golden Bough," i., p. 261.

[2] Cf. "Threshold of Religion," chap. ii.

Since the savage is essentially a man of action it often happens that he acts before he thinks. Such a stage of ritual—the product of mere unreflected habit—must have preceded the development of ideas concerning the how and why of what was being done. When the activity is of a practical nature the paraphernalia accompanying the practices enjoined by custom in process of time need explanation and justification; either a myth is invented or the oft repeated refrain quoted: "it was so in the Alcheringa." Some mysterious authority is needed to account for the time-honoured conventions and rigidly-observed rituals, and therefore the primitive philosopher sets forth the theory of a golden age in which powerful ancestral spirits or High Gods roamed the earth, framed the laws, taught men the arts of life and the ritual practices to be observed. Having accomplished their task they are usually supposed to have returned to their abode in the skies. Thus myths arose as religious stories to explain and sanction customs hitherto unexplained. Mythology may, therefore, be regarded as the key to the dramatic representations of emotions and desires, on which so much depends in primitive society. As belief came to play a more important part in religion, through the development of the human mind, there was a tendency to systematize and moralize these stories. Deities are assigned special functions, the hierarchy of heaven is regulated, and the gods regarded as the rewarders of virtue and the punishers of vice. Although they no longer make their abode among the dwellers on the earth and choose their wives from the daughters of men, they are pleased when they hear the bull-roarer, and other ceremonies are duly performed, and, in higher culture, they are thought to be attentive, when, in times of extremity, the human heart cries out in its distress: "Save me, O God, for the waters are come

in unto my soul." Thus, mythology, in its representation of a golden past when gods and spirits lived on the earth and organized the social and religious institutions, is the product of the religious nature of man.

But there is another way in which legends and myths arise. When the men of a tribe return from the chase or an avenging expedition they will often dramatically represent to the women and children the experiences they have encountered. Probably the drama does not lose in its original re-enactment. As time goes on and the ceremony is represented again and again the particular event is forgotten, and myths relating to the brave days of old arise as *ex post facto* explanations of the now meaningless commemorative ritual. Likewise, before an important function is entered upon, emotion is discharged by anticipatory rites. A pantomimic rehearsal of that which is likely to take place in the chase will be gone through, imaginary game will be caught and all the detail of hunting enacted, by way of "pre-presentation." It is hardly surprising that the savage should read into these anticipatory rites a magical efficacy, not because "like produces like," but because a ritual that involves a more or less realistic reproduction of some practical activity tends to establish the *ex post facto* idea of "sympathetic" causation. This, however, is an entirely different thing from saying with Frazer that symbolic and sympathetic rites belong to an "age of magic." Such a conclusion can only be arrived at by extracting the abstract element of imitativeness, and ignoring the primary function and purpose of primitive ritual. As a matter of fact the savage is not concerned with how ceremonies "work," all he knows is that they do work. In primitive society there is no such thing as theology, or thought-out schemes of beliefs, but simply absolute faith in the powers and efficacy of that which produces or is endowed with mana.

It will be therefore readily seen that to the primitive mind there is no clear distinction between magic and religion. No doubt there is a nascent consciousness of some contrast between the exercise of evil magic which tends to be anti-social and those rites which are for the betterment of society. Thus, Van Gennep [1] treats the magico-religious as an indivisible whole, distinguishing only between the theoretical and the practical aspect of early cult, assigning the term "religion" to the former, and "magic" to the latter. Hartland [2] thinks that magic and religion have a common root in orenda or mana, the mystic influence that fills certain sacred things. In developing his argument he is inclined to follow Frazer in attributing to the constraining power of sacrifice and prayer a magical significance.[3]

Since the savage is essentially a "ritualist" it would avoid much confusion of terms if *ritual* in association with *mana* were made the basis of primitive magico-religious cult. As Dr. Marett has pointed out,[4] it would be as easy to speak of hunting or agricultural ritual as of productive magic, and obviate the difficulties arising from a stratigraphical method of investigating magico-religious phenomena. The conceptions of mana and of ritualistic control are closely associated. Savage religion chiefly consists of the system of rites resorted to by the community for self-preservation against real and imaginary dangers. Now the impersonal and quasi-mechanical force that imputes to ritual a more or less automatic efficacy is mana. It is this mystic power that makes the ceremonies "work," either socially or anti-socially, for it should be remembered that what are beneficent rites to one person or tribe may be

[1] "Les Rites de passage."
[2] "Ritual and Belief," p. 66.
[3] Op. cit., p. 87.
[4] "Encycl. Rel. and Ethics," art. "Magic."

regarded as nothing short of black magic by another. Even the power of Daramulun may be used by the medicine-man against an enemy.[1] There is, therefore, some foundation for the supposition that public rites tend to become good and licit, and private rites become bad and illicit.[2] A man has no right, according to Robertson Smith, to enter into private relations with supernatural powers that might help him at the expense of the community to which he belongs. In his relations to the unseen he is bound to think and act with and for the community, and not for himself alone. But ritual-forms for securing personal ends are certainly allowable and not anti-social, as has been shown in the first part of this work. It is only when private enterprise tends in the direction of individual greed or spite, that it becomes anti-social and illicit. It is magic rather than private rites that is the enemy of society as well as of organized cult, being maleficent and devoid of organization. In process of time religion depends less and less on ritual efficacy as the ethical conception of the Godhead becomes more and more manifest. But in primitive cult it is mana acting through ritual that is at the back of all magico-religious wonder-working, be it for weel or be it for woe. Here, then, as Dr. Marett has shown, is the meeting point of magic and religion. In it is expressed magico-religious value as realized in and through ritual. The conscious design in a given rate may not be discernible but because it sets free mana it works, and that is all that matters to the savage. Thus, the ideas of mana and of ritualistic control go together—the former calling forth the latter—since both are directly concerned with mystic power associated with the sacred. It is the mana residing in, and proceeding from, the material object that constitutes the whole basis of magico-religious cult.

[1] Howitt, pp. 543, 382. [2] " Religion of Semites," p. 263 f.

To say with Tylor that a "belief in spiritual beings" constitutes the minimum definition of religion is to forget that the outlook of primitive man is towards the sacred rather than in the direction of the spiritual. For, as the French sociologists have pointed out, primitive man is incapable of forming definite hypotheses concerning the soul, and to explain particular phenomena. Therefore a vaguer conception of a mystic force animating certain things that to the modern man would appear as inanimate is needed to express the primitive attitude of mind. The term animatism is now generally used to describe such "pre-animistic" religion.

Frazer thinks that when men found they could not affect nature by magic, and yet that storms came, the sun rose, and the rain fell they concluded that Beings stronger than themselves existed, who "made the stormy wind to blow, the lightning to flash, and the thunder to roll; who had laid the foundations of the solid earth and set bounds to the restless sea that it might not pass." Thus, on this hypothesis, religion is "a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life." [1] But this view does not take into account the fact that much that can justly be called religion is not propitiation, and that some objects recognized by religion are neither equal or inferior to man.

Herbert Spencer and Grant Allen imagine that all religion arose from the worship of dead ancestors, and thus follow Euhemeros, a Sicilian living in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., who formulated a theory of origins after extensive travels to great places of worship, in which he set forth the belief that all gods were deified men. In the new edition of the "Golden Bough," Frazer inclines to this interpretation of the

[1] "Golden Bough," iii., Pt. I., p. 222.

beginning of gods, but, though there may be an element of truth in the hypothesis, the High Gods of low races are not mere ghosts carried to the highest power, as Herbert Spencer imagines. To rest all rites and beliefs on the precarious foundation of passing fancy and inadvertence, is surely contrary to all known laws governing the mind of man. Many human traits and attributes naturally gather round a mythological being, especially in primitive states of culture. Thus, Odin's gods drink beer because all Norsemen heroes drank beer, and Balder was burnt on his ship because a great Norse hero was always burnt on his viking-ship, but it does not follow in consequence that either were originally historic personages elevated to the divine rank by posterity.

It is beyond question that ancestor-worship is very widely distributed over a large part of the uncivilized world, but, at the same time, it is not a universal aspect of primitive cult. It is not found in Australia, where the gods are simply Supreme Beings who have never died; therefore there is no ground for regarding it, at least in this region, as the first form of religion and the source of theistic conceptions. Among nearly all races, even where the worship of ancestors and deified human beings exists, there is also a belief in High Gods who have never been men and have never died. In process of time mythology has tended to overgrow and choke the original conception of a Creator who dwells in the sky, remote and in need of nothing that man can give. In some cases there is a distinct line of demarcation drawn between those who are properly designated gods, on the one hand, and the spirits of the dead, on the other, to whom some kind of worship is offered. In China only the Emperor is now allowed to worship the Supreme Ruler at the Altar of Heaven, and that only once in the year—the night of the winter solstice—but the members of every family daily pay homage to their ancestors.

Ancestor-worship therefore seems to be a later conception than that of gods proper, who never were men and have never died. Consequently it may be concluded that although it is probable that the ghosts of great chiefs, "the Cæsars and Napoleons, the Charlemagnes and Timurs of savage empires," were often propitiated and worshipped, yet there is no evidence to suggest that this practice constitutes the earliest phase of a belief in gods and spiritual beings. Had theistic ideas arisen in this way it is inconceivable that a broad distinction should be made in primitive cult between gods and the spirits of dead men.

M. Durkheim put forth the following definition of religion in "L'Année Sociologique," [1] which he has subsequently modified in his book, "Les Formes Élémentaires de la Vie Religieuse" [2]: "Les phénomènes dits religieux consistent en croyances obligatoires connexes de pratiques définies qui se rapportent à des objets donnés dans ces croyances." ("The phenomena which we call religious are those which consist in obligatory beliefs connected with definite practices relating to objects given in these beliefs.") In order to make this definition less "formal" and more regardful of the "contents of the religious representations" the later hypothesis is stated thus: "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them." M. Durkheim thereby recognizes *beliefs* and *practices* as the two distinct and essential aspects of religious phenomena. In both cases, however, it is only those beliefs and practices which are obligatory that may be termed religious. Again, the definition is further narrowed by including only those obligatory

[1] II., p. 1 ff. [2] P. 47.

practices which presuppose obligatory beliefs, and vice versa. But, in primitive cult all that is required is that the ceremonies be properly performed, without regard to any particular explanation of the rites. It is the ritual not the belief that matters. It can hardly be said that any particular beliefs are *obligatory* in connexion with the Intichiuma rites in Central Australia. The essential thing is that the totemic ceremonies be duly performed, and so with most primitive ritual. Beliefs grow up and are read into certain acts but they are seldom annexed till later, since, in really primitive cult, doctrine takes quite a minor place. Again, we repeat, the savage is a man of action but not of carefully thought out beliefs and theories. A ceremonialist he is, a dogmatic theologian he is not. The notion, therefore, of the primitive philosopher communing alone with the natural and spiritual world, evolving theological dogmas out of his inner consciousness, has to be seriously modified, when savage mythology is considered in relation to ritual acts. To follow Durkheim it would be necessary to exclude from religion all the obligatory practices unconnected with obligatory beliefs, and thereby eliminate the greater part of primitive cult.

Something at once vaguer and wider, resembling more the conception of mana, is needed to represent primitive or rudimentary religion in its entirety. The only term that covers the whole of religious phenomena is the comprehensive expression ἱερά or *sacra*, suggested by Mr. Crawley [1] and since adopted by Dr. Marett and other anthropologists. The conception of the "sacred" will be found to cover the whole body of magico-religious beliefs and practices, and, therefore, may be taken as a "minimum definition." Any startling manifestation of nature, a curiously shaped rock, animals of uncanny appearance, a dead body, a cloud-crowned mountain,

[1] "Tree of Life," p. 209.

a rushing stream, is regarded as sacred because it is associated with man, and, in consequence, rites and tabus grow up around it. Of course, the animate is sacred, but so are many things that are not the abode of a "spiritual being." Unusual manifestations are regarded as having about them a mysterious energy that is not human, for it forms no part of the equipment of the ordinary individual. It may be called "god" as it is by the people of Madagascar.[1] So, too, the Masai, and Akikuyu conception of deity is equally vague. Anything that is to them incomprehensible or peculiar is *ngai* (god),[2] just as among the Algonquin it is *manitou*, or *orenda* to the Iroquoian. Not dissimiliar is the conception of *mulungu* among the Yaos, east of Lake Nyassa. This term signifies the "Great One" and is equivalent to god, although, to the native mind it does not convey the notion of personality. It rather denotes an inherent supernatural energy associated with mysterious objects. It is the agent of wonder in the rainbow, and it sums up at once the Creative energy which made the earth and animals and man, together with the powers which operate in human life. Offerings of food are placed at the foot of a tree on certain occasions. It is "for Mulungu"; sometimes dimly conceived as a spirit within; sometimes regarded as a universal agency in nature and affairs, impalpable, impersonal; sometimes rising into distinctness as God.[3] In Morocco the Arabs designate the mystic force connected with "holy" people and places as *baraka*.[4] Although this term is used to describe the various attributes of holiness it is not confined to this quality.

[1] Ellis, "History of Madagascar," i., p. 391 f.; cf. "Threshold of Religion," p. 11.

[2] Thomson, "Masailand," p. 445; Routledge, "With a Prehistoric People," p. 357.

[3] Estlin Carpenter, "Comparative Religion," p. 82.

[4] Westermarck, "Essays to Tylor," p. 368.

A bride, for instance, is dangerous because she is full of *baraka*, and rain is made to fall in times of drought by its aid.[1]

The conception of mana is, therefore, by no means confined to Melanesia. It is rather a world-wide aspect of primitive cult. Around it gathers all the fundamental principles of savage religion. In short, it is hardly too much to say that it covers the whole of magico-religious phenomena. It is sufficiently vague to describe those early religious ideas before the conception of personality enters into the savage consciousness, and, at the same time, it is capable of existing in combination with a doctrine of spirits, souls, ghosts and authropomorphic beings. It is because of its comprehensiveness that the "ritual-tabu-mana" formula of the sacred is here put forth as a minimum definition of religion.

That this attitude of mind, dictated by awe of the mysterious—called by Dr. Marett *animatism*,[2] is psychologically an earlier phase than animism is shown in the case of the Trojan offerings to the sacred river, narrated in Homer. Originally the Trojans regarded the river as containing mana, and, in consequence, they sacrificed a bull to the stream. The animal was thrown into the water whole and entire. In later times, when they had reached the animistic stage, an altar was erected by the side of the river on which a bull was offered, the belief being that the *spirit* in the water came out and consumed the essence of the sacrifice.

But here again, care must be taken to avoid assuming a stratigraphical evolution from animatism to animism. As a matter of fact animatism, animism, and anthropomorphism constantly exist side by side in primitive cult, and, therefore, they may presumably be supposed to have arisen simultaneously as an ex-

[1] Westermarck, "Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco," p. 360.
[2] "Threshold of Religion," pp. 1–28.

planation of the several aspects of the sacred. Animatism may have originally been applied to non-human objects, whereas animism may have arisen by way of explanation of such phenomena as dreams, sickness, death, trance, hallucinations, reflections, shadows, etc. On the other hand, anthropomorphism did not evolve out of animistic conceptions. In Australia All-Fathers are neither animistic nor non-animistic in character, since they are conceived of as magnified non-natural men, often dwelling in the sky—super-men who have never died. The origin of these truly religious ideas may reasonably be sought in that higher or spiritual nature which, it appears, man possessed from the earliest days of his existence.

It is now placed beyond dispute that a religious consciousness is not the peculiar and special equipment of any one faith, or of a chosen people. The history of religion is an exemplification of the great truth that "God is not far from each one of us." It is the record of a universal search after God by every nation of men, "if haply they might feel after Him and find Him." In the foregoing pages the lowest forms of magico-religious ritual and belief actually adhered to by existing primitive people have been investigated, in the hope that some light may be thrown on the cult of primeval man. Of course, it is possible that modern savages do not reveal with entire accuracy or complete fulness the religion of our prehistoric forefathers. But making allowance for any discrepancies in this direction there can be little doubt that anthropology has succeeded in giving a fairly accurate picture of rudimenary religion. The few facts that have been brought to light by archæologists support in a very remarkable manner the conclusions of anthropologists regarding primitive cult.

There can be little doubt that man in a hunting stage of culture views life from a similar standpoint at what-

ever period of time he may happen to inhabit the globe. He is a man of action whose principal function is to secure the necessities of life. The category of cause and effect is unknown to him. For him everything that happens is due to a mystic power, an unseen influence—part of the great Unknown, the mysterious. Not being a philosopher or theologian he does not stop to ask, "Whence is this curious force, how does this awe-inspiring object work?" All he knows or cares is that it contains mana and therefore behaves thus. This is his fundamental assumption. Cause and effect, and even agent and act, are not clearly differentiated at this stage of culture. Effect is the thing that really matters to primitive man, cause being nothing more than an unknown and therefore a mysterious force acting through certain natural or supernatural objects. It is highly improbable, as has been shown, that in the most primitive states of culture man attributes all mana to spiritual agencies. Awe of a great supernatural power pervading nature, and the search for the Unknown is everywhere the characteristic of the most primitive religious consciousness. It, therefore, seems reasonable to suppose that as long as *primeval* man was only concerned with non-human objects—rocks, stones, trees, clouds, sun, etc.—the generic term mana was sufficient to explain the power that caused such objects to behave mysteriously. But, if he could not identify the unknown power with any material object, then he was driven to the belief in spiritual beings by way of explanation of such awe-inspiring phenomena as dreams, trances, death, shadow, etc. Again, if he could not associate the unknown power with any material or spiritual force, then he resorted to a belief in an All-Father who lived in the sky, remote from the world he created, and full of knowledge and power. Such a being is Baiame of the Kamilaroi, Daramulun of the Yuin,

Cagn of the Bushmen, and the Hawaiian Creators, Kanu and Tangaloa. Under the same category must be placed Yahweh, the God of the Hebrews, unless it can be proved that He was originally a war or storm god. Thus, began the religious consciousness of the human organism.

Does this imply a primitive revelation? Did God, in the beginning, give to man his religion; that is to say, not only religious consciousness, but a certain amount of religious knowledge, so that he set out on his long journey towards civilization with a supply of religious conceptions not devised and elaborated by his own efforts? Such a theory, though commonly held a few years ago, has now been abandoned, not only by anthropologists but also by most theologians. Enough has been recorded in the foregoing pages to show that the religion of primitive man is not (and apparently that of primeval man was not) of the lofty and pure nature which befits a direct revelation from the Deity. Furthermore, such an assumption implies a condition of human life far above the culture of "ancient hunters." Or again, if it be supposed that modern savages are degenerates, and, therefore, have lost the pure religion once revealed, it can only be explained on the supposition that mankind was not sufficiently developed to retain a pure religion, a conclusion that takes from the omniscience of the Deity. The theory of a primitive revelation may therefore be laid aside at once as untenable, and religion, like civilization, regarded as a product of evolution, or as a search after the Unknown and the Infinite.

As soon as human consciousness appeared this search after a higher power must have begun. A mystic force seemed to pervade nature and men alike, and therefore man was driven to believe in some supernatural power that had to do with both the external world and his

inner consciousness. In the earliest stages of culture these two aspects are closely related. True, the High God who answers to his spiritual requirements is not worshipped by offerings, or addressed in prayer. It is the totems and the lower spiritual beings, together with other objects containing mana, who are invoked and approached by ritual observances. But why? Simply because a High God is so high that he is not only in need of nothing that man can give, but is also unapproachable. Now it is the same attitude of mind that, on the one hand, prompts the savage to refrain from paying worship to the All-Father, and, on the other, to surround personal powers with rites and tabus. Both alike are regarded with *awe*, an emotion quite distinguishable from fear. Evil spirits are feared, and therefore they are avoided or expelled; but sacred objects endowed with mana are regarded with reverential awe that implies confidence and trust. In times of drought it is concluded that the rain-god is angry because some tabu has been broken or similar offence committed by a member of the tribe, and therefore the deity has withheld the fructifying showers. Prayers and sacrifices are consequently offered in order that reconciliation may be made. In other words, a relationship is supposed to exist between the supernatural world and mankind, and this relationship is *paternal*.

Again, it is further evident that the first yearnings of man, in all ages of culture, is to get into touch with the great Unknown that inspires him with such reverence and awe. He realizes in a dim sort of way that God—considered as a mystical force—is continually about his path; that there is a supernatural power which both has sympathy with his desires and power to bring the same to good effect. It was thus a sense of need that probably first caused a human being to hold intercourse with a higher power. Accordingly, it is in pro-

ductive ceremonies that the inmost desire of the heart of primitive man is made manifest. It is his will to live, not merely in the natural sense, but also in the higher and fuller spiritual meaning of existence, that he utters and represents when he holds Intichiuma ceremonies as soon as the season of fertility approaches to make the totems—the source of life—increase, and when he later actually imbibes the life that to him is life indeed.

There is, on the religious side of primitive cult, a unifying principle behind all magico-religious rites. The history of the religious development of the human race seems to present, to a large extent, the same general features everywhere. M. Lévy Bruhl has yet to prove that the minds of primitive men work very differently from ours,[1] and that *les sociétés inférieures* are in a pre-logical stage of mentality—a result reached by supposing that " the law of participation " is foreign to civilized thought. In reality, in all stages of culture, both the " Law of Contradiction " and the " Law of Participation " enter into man's mental development. The only change that has taken place is that whereas primitive man believes himself to be not merely " one flesh " with his totem but actually the sacred animal itself—an emu or witchetty grub man is an emu or witchetty grub—his civilized successor expressed the same idea *in abstracto*. Thus, in the Christian religion, the primitive conception of a participation of natures finds its counterpart in the mystic sacramental union which exists between our Lord and the faithful. It is, in fact, not difficult to find parallels in primitive cult for all the fundamental conceptions of Christianity which shows that there is no justification for a sharp contrast such as M. Levy Bruhl suggests, between a " pre-logical " age, in which the Law of Participation takes the place

[1] Cf. " Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures."

of the Law of Contradiction, the supposed special feature of later mental developments.

Putting aside the theory of a pre-logical mentality as untenable, religion may be regarded as a continuous process of evolution developing from crude and elementary practices and beliefs, but always showing a uniformity of mental process, differing merely in degree. Even in the lowest and earliest stages of this upward movement the presence of an inspiring and controlling idea can be discerned—an idea not always realized by the men of the time. In the lowest culture religion consists in the relation of man to the sacred. In all the crises of his life primitive man seeks to bring himself into contact with the supernatural. From his entry into the world to his departure from it, each individual passes at certain points in his career out of one condition into another, and the transition is always the occasion of what M. Van Gennep describes as a "rite de passage." Birth, the attainment of puberty, marriage, death are great personal events associated with the mysteries of life, and therefore at these times the individual is especially exposed to the mystic and dangerous sacred forces with which he is surrounded. Before birth various preliminary rites are often performed to make the child a "living soul" by releasing the spirit child from its abode in the nanda tree or sacred spot at which the mother first became conscious of pregnancy. Thus, a newly born infant is regarded as being in fullest contact with the sacred world, and being in such a highly dangerous condition, he is subject to attacks from malignant influences, from which he must be guarded by rites. In order to bring him under "divine" care he undergoes ceremonial ablutions, etc., to wash away the evil inherent in human nature, and admit him to the society of mankind. Thus, the Aztec ritual, already explained, refers to water as a regenerating agent, the priest concluding

the rite by saying : " Now he liveth anew and is born anew, now he is purified and cleansed, now our Mother the water again bringeth him into the world." Name-giving ceremonies, which are not infrequently associated with supernatural guardian powers, chosen to watch over the infant, or with the spirits of ancestors, follow the purificatory rites.

At the age of puberty boys are compelled to pass through a series of initiation ceremonies, whereby they are admitted into the privileges of manhood, and instructed in the tribal mysteries, and thus again brought into relation with the sacred, and often, as, for instance, among the South-Eastern tribes of Australia, into intercourse with the All-Father who presides over the rites. The ceremonies involve seclusion from the world, and especially from the society of women, together with severe tests of endurance—knocking out of teeth, circumcision, tattooing, scarification, fasts, and lonely vigils in the bush. All this is calculated to produce nervous excitement, and bring about a " new birth " ; the former things are passed away, and the new-born man enters on a new life. This aspect of initiation is clearly shown in the Akikuyu rites. Just before circumcision the mother stands up with the boy at her feet ; she pretends to go through all the labour pains, and the boy on being reborn cries like a babe and is washed.[1] Sometimes the novice dies to rise again. Among the tribes of South-East Australia an old man is laid in a grave, covered up with earth and bushes, and affects a resurrection before the eyes of the novices standing round the grave. The new name given, the new dress worn, the new ceremonies and the new language taught, all suggest a new birth to a new life. In totemic societies the novice is often reborn as the totem. Thus, when a man wants to become a bear

[1] Frazer, " Totemism and Exogamy," i., p. 228.

among the Carrier Indians he retires to the woods for a few days. At length he returns, and dances a bear dance with the rest of the totem, as an initiated bear, his disappearance and reappearance acting as outward signs of death and resurrection.[1]

In Polynesia, West Africa, etc., secret societies were gradually formed among the initiates, in which the members often entered into sacramental relations with the deity, after preliminary purificatory ceremonies. Thus, in the semi-Hellenic mysteries of the Attis-Cybele the fusion of the mortal with the divinity was brought about by a blood-ritual and a sacramental meal of bread and wine eaten by the Attis-votary as the very substance of his divinity. In the mysteries of Isis, after lustrations and priestly declarations of absolution, the candidates underwent a new birth and were assured of a happy life beyond the grave. The novices in the Mithraic initiation ceremonies passed through seven stages, till, ceremonially cleansed from all sin, they attained a sacramental rebirth which endured through all eternity. Such rites as these may not unreasonably be described as anticipations of the great Christian Mystery whereby the faithful partake of eternal life.

The rites of birth, initiation, marriage and death, which appear on the surface to have little in common, are to the primitive mind, remarkably similar. All constitute a "rite de passage," a passing from one state to another. In every rite there are two aspects—the putting off of the old man, and the putting on of the new. This means establishing a definite relationship with the sacred, so that in the intervening period, or novitiate, the candidate is rendered tabu. Now these rites de passage constitute a means whereby mankind may come into closer union with the supernatural. Re-birth is the re-entering into more intimate relations

[1] "Golden Bough," Pt. III, p. 438.

with the sacred. As man's ethical knowledge increases he realizes that sin separates him from the divine, and therefore he resorts to ceremonial ablutions that he may " put off the old man which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and put on the new man which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness."

The religion of the savage is thus the means whereby he seeks to establish a relationship between himself and the sacred. It is a mode of activity, a routine of worship, but behind the ritual acts, which are its outward and visible signs, lie certain thoughts and feelings, often dim, indistinct, and obscure. He does not, it is true, ask the questions " how " and " why," but nevertheless the line of his action is determined, in part at least, by the ideas and expectations which have slowly emerged out of his early search for God. " The pre-Christian religions were the age-long prayer. The Incarnation was the answer." [1]

The study of comparative religion has clearly shown the evolutionary process which led up to the idea of Christianity as God's reply to the yearnings of men's hearts in all ages—the completion of the religious education of the human race—is not restricted in its working to the Old Testament, but that behind the " religion of the Semites " is a very long history going right back to primeval times. In the words of Robertson Smith: " to understand the ways of God with man, and the whole meaning of His plan of salvation, it is necessary to go back and see His work in its beginnings, examining the rudimentary stages of the process of revelation." [2]

To maintain a full and complete revelation at a given moment of time in face of the overwhelming evidence of a " progressive revelation " is to bring Christian theology into disrepute in the eyes of well-informed people, and

[1] Illingworth in " Lux Mundi," p. 208.

[2] " The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 192.

to go contrary to the teaching of the New Testament writers and of the early Fathers of the Church. St. Paul, in his speech at Areopagus, acknowledges that some of his hearers worship the true God (Acts xvii. 23: ὃ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε) though styling Him as the Unknown Deity. Again, St. Peter maintains that God is " no respecter of persons : but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him.[1] Likewise, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews shows that God of old spoke " by divers portions and in divers manners " to the " Fathers "—an expression that may equally be extended to others besides the ancestors of Israel, since the religious faculty is not confined to one race. There is in every soul a restlessness that can never be satisfied till it finds rest in its Creator, and, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the Spirit of God was working and revealing Himself in such divers ways as the very limited capacity of primitive man was able to comprehend, from the beginning. Thus, Dr. Farnell is led to say " that all through the present societies of savage men there prevails an extraordinary uniformity, in spite of much local variation, in ritual and mythology, a uniformity so striking as to suggest belief in an ultimately identical tradition, or, perhaps, more reasonably, the psychologic theory that the human brain-cell in different races at the same stage of development responds with the same religious speech or the same religious act to the same stimuli supplied by its environment." [2] To those who acknowledge the existence of Divine Personality this original tradition or stimulus supplied by environment may reasonably be regarded as the result of Divine operation on the primeval mind. This does not imply a belief in a primitive revelation of the unity and suprem-

[1] Acts x. 34, 35.

[2] " Evolution of Religion," p. 9.

acy of God to a chosen race, but in a universal and progressive unfolding of the Divine purpose precept upon precept, line upon line, here a little, there a little, till, in the fullness of time, the mind of man was ready for the supreme and final revelation in Christ, completing and superseding all partial revelations, adapted to meet and fulfil every reaching upwards to the truth and light found among the dim and shadowy rites and beliefs of primitive cult.

There is nothing unscientific in this view, that the striving of man after union with his Maker was guided by God through a partial and progressive revelation to meet the great persistent universal cry of the human heart, till the goal was reached in Christianity—the highest development of the religious faculty. The Christian religion, like other institutions and customs, is a product of evolution; but, let it be remembered (to quote Dr. Illingworth) that "evolution is merely a method, and originates and can originate nothing. Whatever we find existing at the end of an evolutionary process must have existed potentially, that is to say, in germ, at its beginning. The term evolution cannot be utilized like the handkerchief of a conjurer, under the cover of which to substitute for one object another that is totally different in kind." [1] Now, if Christianity is the height and crown of religious evolution supplying the entire need of the religious faculty—the final revelation of God to man—primitive ritual and belief must contain the germ of Christian potentiality.

The essence of the religion of Jesus Christ is *union with God*—the actualization of man's attempts to find out the nature of God, His abode, and the manner in which He may be reached, as the result of the development of the religious consciousness, nourished and guided by the Almighty Himself. Since the essential aspect of

[1] "The Doctrine of the Trinity," pp. 4, 5.

primitive religion is the relation of man to the sacred, the rites and beliefs that constitute his cult may be described as movements towards an imperfect and impersonal conception of the Deity. Thus, when the Australian Black-Fellow assumes a mystic union to exist between himself and the natural world he is simply expressing his inward yearning for union with a Divine Power. Likewise, it has been shown that the *rites de passage* constitute a means whereby mankind may come into closer union with the sacred by re-birth. Or, again, the universal doctrine of mana, attaching itself to awe-inspiring objects, suggests a world-wide tendency among primitive people to seek union with a higher power.

It is, however, in the various conceptions of sacrifice that the desire for union with the deity is most clearly seen. Sometimes in the offering of cereal oblations and other gifts to the god or his equivalent, sometimes as a sacramental meal or a covenant in blood, the soul reaches out towards, and makes itself part of the Divine Nature. If man regards the Deity merely as a mysterious impersonal Force associated with peculiar objects, he will simply offer gifts. If he believes he owes his origin to the animal or plant whose name he bears, he will endeavour to come into communion with his totem by assimilating the flesh and blood of the sacrosanct animal. If he regards the gods as members of his tribe or very present helps in trouble, he will slay a victim in their honour and partake of it with them. When he reaches the stage of realizing that the gods live in the sky he burns his sacrifice on the altar that it may ascend as a sweet smelling odour to the deity. When he feels that union with his god is destroyed by his shortcomings, he offers, by way of reparation, a sin-offering, and even bathes himself in the blood of the victim as a token of penitence. He drinks it to become partaker of the divine life, or reverently eats cakes in which the blood

of a victim is mixed with the dough. Thus from simple and very primitive rites, often having for their purpose, at least in part, the supply of the food that is necessary for the body, the sacramental system, whereby the soul is fed and nourished, has, in the process time, been evolved. In these and numerous other ways, such as mythological stories and the accompanying rites, man tries to satisfy the universal craving for union with his Maker, by getting into contact with the sacred, and thereby becoming full of sacredness, till, in the fullness of time, the Incarnation and the extension of its benefits in the sacramental system of the Christian Church fulfilled " the dumb, dim, expectations of mankind."

A study of primitive ritual and belief therefore reveals, among other things, a permanent element of truth—a progressive revelation. It shows how God, in His infinite wisdom, has led the human race onwards, not only in civilization, but also in a knowledge of Himself, from very lowly ideas of deity, often indistinguishable from mana, to a doctrine which the Incarnate Son could claim as His own, and re-enforce with Divine authority; from very crude and imperfect notions of holiness, to a type of character which is not essentially changed but only invested with supreme lustre and power in the sinless holiness of Jesus Christ; from very crude tribal hopes and aspirations to the realization of the perfect union with God established through the " tabernacling " of the Divine Logos among men in His Church, which is His Body. In the catholic creeds of Christianity the vital truths of all religions and magico-religious cults find a place. Thus, in the providence of God, the world was gradually prepared to receive the final revelation, when, in the fullness of time, the religious education of the more progressive races of mankind was sufficiently advanced to appreciate all that is implied in the Incarnation of the Son of God.

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